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The Sufi As The Axis Of The World: Representations Of Religious Authority In The Works Of Ismail Hakki Bursevi (1653-1725)

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The Sufi As The Axis Of The World: Representations Of Religious Authority In The Works Of Ismail Hakki Bursevi (1653-1725)

Abstract

The present study examines the ways in which Ismail Hakki Bursevi (1653-1725) d(re)defines and deploys Islamic discursive practices and institutions to assert his religious authority as the most influential Sufi master in the Celveti order after its founder. Through a literary analysis of Bursevi's autobiographical notes and dedicatory treatises (tuhfe) to Ottoman officials, I examine how he uses the institutions of the Sufi master (shaykh), order (tarīqa), and the Celestial Axis (quṭb) to argue for his superior status vis-�-vis other members of the Ottoman religious and learned elite. I speculate argue that the particulars of Hakki's self-representation can be viewed as early indications of institutional anxiety and contested leadership within the Celveti Sufi order, which split into subbranches in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

My study situates Bursevi's writings in the larger literary landscape through a review of the existing scholarship on autobiography and advice literature (naṣīḥāt) in the Middle Eastern literary context. In doing so, I identify the challenges and opportunities that his works pose to such a genric classification. Having established the ways in which each of these types of writing lends itself to a discourse on spiritual legitimacy, I examine how in his self-narrative in the Tamāmu'l-feyz, Bursevi uses the institution of the master, and the notion of "death before dying", to claim authority as the spiritual heir to the most important Celveti Sufi at the time. I contrast Bursevi's self-representation in this treatise with his autobiographical note in the Silsilenāme-yi Celvetiye, a biohagiographical work of the Celveti order, which he composed as an established Celveti Sufi shaykh. In the latter, I argue, Bursevi deploys the institution of the Sufi order, and accounts of dreams and visions, as sources of the spiritual legitimacy he seeks to assert. I conclude with an analysis of how Bursevi's claim to religious authority manifests in gift treatises he composed for Ottoman officials. By focusing on the author's conceptualization of himself as an Axis (quṭb), the Sufi at the top of the spiritual hierarchy, I examine the broad social roles that Bursevi envisioned for Sufis as the pillars of Islamic orthodoxy and the integral part he envisioned for them in the historical legitimacy of the Ottoman state.

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THE SUFI AS THE AXIS OF THE WORLD:

REPRESENTATIONS OF RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY IN THE WORKS OF ISMAIL HAKKI BURSEVI (1653-1725)

Kameliya Atanasova

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THE SUFI AS THE AXIS OF THE WORLD: REPRESENTATIONS OF RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY IN THE WORKS OF ISMAIL HAKKI BURSEVI (1653-1725)

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To Yavor

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ABSTRACT

THE SUFI AS THE AXIS OF THE WORLD: REPRESENTATIONS OF RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY IN THE WORKS OF ISMAIL HAKKI BURSEVI (1653-1725)

Kameliya Atanasova

Jamal Elias

The present study examines the ways in which Ismail Hakki Bursevi (1653-1725) defines and deploys Islamic discursive practices and institutions to assert his religious authority as the most influential Sufi master in the Celveti order after its founder. Through a literary analysis of Bursevi's autobiographical notes and dedicatory treatises (*tuhfe*) to Ottoman officials, I examine how he uses the institutions of the Sufi master (*shaykh*), order (*tarīqa*), and the Celestial Axis (*quṭb*) to argue for his superior status vis-à-vis other members of the Ottoman religious and learned elite. I argue that the particulars of Hakki's self-representation can be viewed as early indications of institutional anxiety and contested leadership within the Celveti Sufi order, which split into subbranches in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

My study situates Bursevi's writings in the larger literary landscape through a review of the existing scholarship on autobiography and advice literature (*naṣīḥāt*) in the Middle Eastern literary context. In doing so, I identify the challenges and opportunities that his works pose to such a generic classification. Having established the ways in which each of these types of writing lends itself to a discourse on spiritual legitimacy, I examine how in his self-narrative in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz*, Bursevi uses the institution of the master,

and the notion of "death before dying", to claim authority as the spiritual heir to the most important Celveti Sufi at the time. I contrast Bursevi's self-representation in this treatise with his autobiographical note in the *Silsilenāme-yi Celvetiye*, a biohagiographical work of the Celveti order, which he composed as an established Celveti Sufi shaykh. In the latter, I argue, Bursevi deploys the institution of the Sufi order, and accounts of dreams and visions, as sources of the spiritual legitimacy he seeks to assert. I conclude with an analysis of how Bursevi's claim to religious authority manifests in gift treatises he composed for Ottoman officials. By focusing on the author's conceptualization of himself as an Axis (*quṭb*), the Sufi at the top of the spiritual hierarchy, I examine the broad social roles that Bursevi envisioned for Sufis as the pillars of Islamic orthodoxy and the integral part he envisioned for them in the historical legitimacy of the Ottoman state.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA

EI — **Encyclopedia of Islam. First Edition** (1913-1936), Edited by M. Th. Houtsma, T.W. Arnold, R. Basset, R. Hartmann

EI^2 — **Encyclopedia of Islam. Second edition.** Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs.

EI^3 — **Encyclopedia of Islam. Third edition.** Edited by: Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, Everett Rowson

İA — **Islam Ansiklopedisi** (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfi, 1988-2013)

IJMES — International Journal of Middle East Studies

TF — Ismail Hakki Bursevi, ***Tamāmu'l-feyz fī bāb al-ricāl.***

- **TF (A)** — Ismail Hakki Bursevi, ***Tamāmu'l-feyz fī bāb al-ricāl.*** (Beirut: Dar al-kutub al-'ilmiya, 2010)

- **TF (B)** — Ismail Hakki Bursevi, ***Tamāmu'l-feyz fī bāb al-ricāl.*** (Damascus: Dar Ninawa, 2011)

SJ — Ismail Hakki Bursevi, ***Silsilenāme-yi Celvetiye.*** New Series No. 1144 (Princeton University Rare Books). 17--?

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

This study explores the writings of an intellectual who lived in the Turkish-speaking world but also traveled to Arabic-speaking parts of the Ottoman Empire. He wrote in both Ottoman Turkish and Arabic, and engaged an audience that comprised not only other religious scholars but also Ottoman officials. These factors have contributed to the challenging task of choosing a unified system to transliterate names, titles of literary works and of Ottoman officials, and Arabic technical terms that have been adopted for use in Ottoman Turkish. I have therefore chosen a modified *IJMES* transliteration system that accounts for the variant context in which the term or title appears. Whenever possible, I have used Modern Turkish orthography, particularly for titles of Ottoman officials (e.g., *Kazasker* and not *Qāḍi ʻAskar*). For Sufi technical terms that appear frequently in both the Arabic and the Ottoman Turkish context, I have however chosen a simplified Arabic transliteration (e.g., *tariqa* and not *tarikat*, *silsila* and not *silsile*, *dhikr* and not *zıkır*) in italics. Words that appear in a standard English dictionary (e.g, *sultan*, *shaykh*), have been rendered according to that spelling. At the first occurrence of a technical term, I have provided both the Arabic and Ottoman Turkish forms. For the transliteration of Arabic compound names referring to individuals from the Turkish-speaking world, I have used a simplified Ottoman Turkish transliteration. Titles of literary works have been rendered in a simplified Arabic transliteration that reflects the way they were pronounced. The names of places in the Balkans and Anatolia have been provided at the first occurrence in both the form the author uses and their modern spelling, and thereafter only in their modern spelling.

PREFACE

A MAN OF HIS TIMES:
THE WORLD OF ISMAIL HAKKI BURSEVI

Ismail Hakki Bursevi (1653-1725) lived during a politically and religiously tumultuous yet incredibly intellectually vital time period in the Ottoman Empire's history: circumstances which inevitably shaped his person and writings in multiple ways.

Militarily, economically, and politically, the Ottoman Empire of the mid-seventeenth century was a strikingly different place from the militarily strong, centralized state that it had been during the reign of Sultan Süleyman (r. 1520-1566). The *timar* army declined as the *sipahi* cavalry engaged less in military training and expeditions than they did in tax farming, and the security in the provinces fell to governors with private military forces. The Janissary corps expanded to 200,000 by the middle of the seventeenth century, placing a financial drain on the Ottoman state, whose population nearly doubles during the sixteenth century alone. The wars waged in the Caucasus and Hungary, and internal rebellions put an additional strain on society as taxation increased to pay for the new standing corps.[1]

Political power during this time period was increasingly decentralized: the *devşirme* system broke into political factions vying for influence in the imperial court. The grip of the sultans on power simultaneously weakened as princes spent more time in

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[1] Stanford Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Vol. 1, Empire of the Gazis. The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280-1808* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 187-88.

the harem and hunting than did on the battlefield or in provincial governorships; instead, a loose concept referred to as a cage (*kafes*) intended to keep power away from them through entertainment and diversion.[2]

The vacuum left by this decline in sultanic power, particularly after the reign of Murad III (1574-1595), was filled by the rising influence of the Grand Vizier and his courtiers, as well as the women of the court. The process of decentralization of sultanic power was further accelerated by the change in the system of succession: instead of power being vested with the ablest son of the departing sultan, his eldest living male relative or member of the dynasty received the throne. This policy effectively allowed power-holding factions in the court to further solidify their political grip, by means of corruption and bribery.[3] The judiciary took a central role in this process by circumscribing dynastic power through legal principles. The complex phenomenon which led to a shift of power from the person of the sultan to his courtiers and the judiciary has been explained by Baki Tezcan as the rise of the 'political nation':

> The age of the Second Empire was marked by two closely related developments: (1) the expansion of the political nation and the subsequent tension that developed between the old elite and the new and (2) the reconfiguration of the role of the dynasty within the expanding political nation which created the two positions of the absolutists and constitutionalists.[4]

Divisions within Ottoman state and society also spanned the domain of religion. The anti-Sufi rhetoric of the Kadizadeli movement started by Istanbul's mosque preacher

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2 Ibid., 170.

3 Ibid., 171.

4 Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformations in the Early Modern World*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, 53.

Kadızade Mehmed (d. 1635) and his attacks on the Halveti shaykh Abdülmecid Sivasi (d. 1639) influenced the public discourse on orthodoxy for decades to come. Labeling Muhiyiddin Ibn ‘Arabi’s theory of the unicity of being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*), and tomb visitation sinful innovations (*bid‘a*), supports of Kadızade Mehmed gained broad public support and engaged in violent attacks against Sufis, physically assaulting individual shaykhs, and vandalizing their lodges. Kadızadeli popularity also spread among the Ottoman ruling hierarchy: under Kadızade’s influence, Sultan Murad IV (r. 1623-1640) shut down taverns and outlawed tobacco and wine. Kadızadeli Üstüvānī Mehmed (d. 1661) used his proximity to the Grand Vizier Melek Ahmed Paşa to destroy the Halveti lodge at Demirkapı. Another member of the movement, Vanī Mehmed (d. 1685) convinced Mehmed IV (r. 1648-87) to remove the Celveti Sufi Selāmi ‘Ali from his position in the Celveti Grand Lodge (*asitāne*) in Istanbul.[5] The *Tarikat-i Muhammediye* (*The Muhammadan Path*), a catechism-type treatise by Birgivi Mehmed (d. 1573), became a key piece of Kadızadeli doctrine and its criticism was forbidden by imperial order.[6]

These developments shaped the world in which Ismail Hakki was born. A careful reading of Hakki’s writings reveals his close proximity to a number of high-ranking Ottoman officials, but little contact with the sultan: a likely discursive reverberation of the rise of ‘political culture’ which Tezcan describes. As I will demonstrate in the present study, Hakki’s literary self-representation as the most influential Sufi in the Celveti Sufi

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[5] I discuss Selāmi ‘Ali’s demotion in Chapter 1.

[6] Madeline Zilfi, “The Kadizadelis: Discordant Revialism in Seventeenth Century Istanbul,” in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 4 (Oct. 1986), 254-62.

order after its founder is also tied to his perception of Sufis' declining influence in the Ottoman religious scene, in the aftermath of the Sufi-Kadızadeli conflict, described by Zilfi. Hakki's works indicate a leadership crisis in the Celveti order, along competing views of Sufis' relationship to politics and larger involvement in society. An analysis of Against this backdrop, Hakki's writings naturally reveal the author's individual and institutional anxiety about the uncertain place of Celveti shaykhs in the imperial court, where patronage came and went as sultans were deposed and enthroned by powerful factions.

CHAPTER 1.

SITUATING BURSEVI IN THE STUDY OF OTTOMAN SUFISM

I. Locating Ottoman Sufism on the Scholarly Map

In her article on the history of the Melāmi 'supra-order' in the Ottoman Empire, Victoria Rowe Holbrook wrote:

> Anyone involved in Turkish literary studies is aware of the extent and force of international prejudice against the Ottoman past. While it is notoriously futile to question the non-occurrence of an historical event, a lack of scholarly attention to major historical events can be normative for an academic discipline. The absence most conspicuous here is exclusion of the Turkish from modern scholarship of sufism. Dervish orders came into existence as fully elaborated, international institutions only with the rise of the Ottoman Empire, and flourished in Ottoman territories more than anywhere else. It is because the orders were so central to Ottoman social organization that the Turkish Republic found it necessary to take radical measures against them, and far from promoting sufism as a national treasure (as the late Iranian Shah could), republican discourse has discouraged scholarly interest in it. While we define the Melami as a supra-order, the comprehensive lack of account, in any language, of Ottoman tarikat social realities let alone philosophical content leaves us seeking a frame of reference. The establishment of dervish orders in Turkish Anatolia and the Ottoman west remains obscure; there is no widely observed definition even of the term tarikat informed by Ottoman example, the major example."[7]

Although Holbrook's criticism was primarily targeting Turkish scholarship on Sufism, the corresponding lacuna in the research on Ottoman Sufism in both Turkish and Western academe has only recently begun to attract scholarly attention. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak's collected volume, *Osmanli Toplumunda Tasavvuf ve Sufiler* cast important light on the

[7] Victoria Rowe Holbrook, "Ibn 'Arabi and Ottoman Dervish Traditions: The Melami Supra-Order (Part Two)," in *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society*, Vol. XII, 1993, 15-33.

social and political roles dervishes played in the early Ottoman empire.[8] Ahmet Karamustafa's *Sufism: The Formative Period* informed our understanding of the significant place Ottoman Sufis played in the historical evolution of Sufi orders.[9]

In terms of particular orders, John Curry and Nathalie Clayer's studies on the Halvetiye and Dina Le Gall's work on the Naḳşibendiye have greatly added to our knowledge of these orders' significance in the Ottoman center and periphery.[10] Studies of individual Ottoman Sufi masters' lives and works have additionally contributed to what we know about the role of Sufism in the Ottoman intellectual tradition.[11]

The work of Cemal Kafadar and Derin Terzioğlu has explored the important literary dimensions of Ottoman Sufi autobiographical writings.[12] Thanks to studies on the

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8 Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanli Toplumunda Tasavvuf ve Sufiler* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2005).

9 Ahmet Karamustafa, *Sufism, the formative period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

10 See Nathalie Clayer, *Mystiques, Etat et société. Les Halvetis dans l'aire balkanique de la fin du XVe siècle à nos jours* (New York: E.J. Brill, 1994); John Curry. *The transformation of Muslim mystical thought in the Ottoman Empire: the rise of the Halveti order, 1350-1650* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, c2010), and Dina Le Gall, *A Culture of Sufism: Naqshbandis in the Ottoman World, 1450-1700.* (Albany: SUNY Press), 1995.

11 For studies of individual mystics in English, see Derin Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident in the Ottoman Empire: Niyāzī-i Misrī (1618-1694)," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1999, and Elizabeth Sirriyeh, *Sufi Visionary of Ottoman Damascus: 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, 1641- 1731* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004). Samer Akkach, *Letters of a Sufi scholar: the correspondence of 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (1641-1731).* Islamic history and civilization. Studies and texts; v. 74. (Boston: Brill, 2010).

12 Cemal Kafadar, "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature," in *Studia Islamica* 69 (1989): 121-50, and Derin Terzioğlu, "Man in the Image of God in the Image of the Times: Sufi Self-Narratives and the Diary of Niyāzī-i Miṣrī (1618-94)," in *Studia Islamica* 94 (2002): 139-65.

architectural legacy of Sufism, we now know more about the networks of patronage that connected Ottoman Sufis to their larger cultural and political milieu.[13]

Our picture of Ottoman Sufism is still far from complete. Studies on Sufi thought and practice in the Ottoman context have been mostly carried out by specialists of Ottoman history and literature, and have eschewed discussions on the significant role of religion. Despite Sufism's central place in the Ottoman religious landscape, evident in the influential roles individual Sufis and entire orders had – from the imperial court as advisers to the sultan to the battlefield as army shaykhs (*ordu şeyhleri*) – the broader social and political functions of Sufism in the Ottoman context are yet to be examined. Until recently, the scholarly agenda within Ottoman studies focused primarily on the economic and political history of the Empire, and sidelined explorations of its religious and social makeup and dynamics, with several notable exceptions.[14]

Scholars of Islam and the Middle East have also largely neglected the Ottoman premodern context in general, and its intellectual-historical dimension, in particular. This gap in the scholarship has been driven at least in part by Western scholars' uncritical approach to primary sources in which later Ottoman authors lament a bygone 'Golden

[13] See Ethel Sara Wolper, *Cities and saints: Sufism and the transformation of urban space in medieval Anatolia* (University Park, Pa.: The Pennsylvania State University Press, c2003), and Zeynep Yürekli, "A building between the public and private realms of the ottoman elite: The Sufi convent of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in Istanbul," in *Muqarnas* 20 (2003): 159-185.

[14] See, for example, Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2000); *Artisans of Empire: Crafts and Craftspeople Under the Ottomans* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2009); *Travel and Artisans in the Ottoman Empire: Employment and Mobility in the Early Modern Era* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2014). Also see Ronald C. Jennings, *Studies on Ottoman social history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: women, zimmis and sharia courts in Kayseri, Cyprus and Trabzon* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1999s, and Elisabeth Özdalga (ed.), *Late Ottoman society: the intellectual legacy* (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005).

Age' that has, in their lifetimes, given way to a culture of ignorance and moral degradation.[15] In the post-classical, early-modern period (late 16th through 18th centuries), the Ottoman Empire suffered a series of military and economic crises, events which further removed the attention of scholars from the intellectual tradition of the age.

This complex confluence of phenomena has had the unintended but significant consequence of causing scholars to examine the developments within Ottoman Sufism in relative isolation from the larger Islamic intellectual tradition. A contextualization of the place of Ottoman Sufi thought within the larger Arabic and Persian Sufi tradition is long overdue, as is an elaboration of the ways in which Ottoman Sufi thought and practice influenced the broader notions of religious authority in Ottoman elite and non-elite society. The present study will make an initial attempt to address these gaps in the scholarship by examining the representations of religious authority in the writings by Ismail Hakki Bursevi (1653-1725), a prominent Celveti Sufi and one of the most prolific Ottoman authors of all time, with more than a hundred penned works to his name.

II. The life and times of Ismail Hakki Bursevi

The most comprehensive biographical study of Ismail Hakki's life has been conducted by the Turkish scholars Ali Namlı and Sakib Yıldız. While the scope of the current project does not permit a very detailed account of Hakki's life as a historical persona, I will briefly outline his life trajectory below, as informed by Namlı's and Yıldız's studies, and pre-modern biographical sources on Hakki.

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[15] Bernard Lewis. "Ottoman Observers of Ottoman Decline." *Islamic Studies* 1, (1962): 71-87.

1. Early childhood and education

Ismail Hakki was born in the coastal Black-sea town of Aytos, on the territory of what is now Bulgaria, in the year 1653, after his family relocated there from Istanbul following a devastating fire in 1651 which destroyed their home in Aksaray. Hakki's father, Mustafa b. Bayram b. Hudā-bende, seems to have been well-connected to Sufi circles in Istanbul, where he had spent a significant part of his life.[16]

Hakki provides limited information about his childhood. When he was only three years old, his father took him to receive the blessing of Osman Fazlı, the successor to the Celveti shaykh in Aytos, Zākirzāde Abdullah Efendi (d. 1657). He reports completing his early education in Aytos under Şeyh Ahmed Efendi who replaced Fazlı following his move to Plovdiv, Bulgaria).[17] He studied Turkish and Arabic side by side, which could account for the significant amount of works he wrote in Arabic.[18] At the age of eleven, he traveled to Edirne to study under 'Abdülbāki Efendi, a relative of the Osman Fazlı as well as his first disciple.[19] Under his tutelage, Hakki studied the religious sciences (*din ilimleri*) and calligraphy (*hüsn-i hatta*).

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16 Ali Namlı, *İsmail Hakkı Bursevī. Hayatı, Eserleri, Tārikat Anlayışı* (Istanbul: Insan Yayınları, 2001), 35.

17 Namlı, *İsmail Hakkı,* 36.

18 Sakib Yıldız, "Türk Müfessiri Ismail Ḥaḳḳı Burūsevi'nin Hayati," in *Atatürk Üniversitesi İslāmī İlimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, iss. 1: 106.

19 Şemseddin, Mehmed (1855-1917). "İsmā'īl Ḥaḳḳī Dergāh-i Şerīfi Nām-i Dīger Sirrī Zāviyesi ve Ḥikmet-zāde Tekyesi" in *Bursa Dergāhları, Yādigār-ı Şemsī I-II*, Edited by Mustafa Kara and Kadir Atlansoy. (Bursa: Uludağ Yayınları, 1997), 175. See also Namlı, *İsmail Hakkı*, 37.

After seven years spent in Edirne, he joined Osman Fazlı in Istanbul who had moved there after teaching in Plovdiv for over a decade. At that time, Osman Fazlı ran a *dergāh* near Atpazari.[20] In Istanbul, Hakki studied Islamic theology (*kalām*), the principles of Islamic jurisprudence (*uṣūlu'l-fiqh*), Qur'ānic elocution (*tajwīd*) and read some of the great Persian classics.[21] It was also there that he became officially initiated into the Celveti order in 1672.[22]

Hakki recounts this time period of his life as one in which prophets and influential Sufi figures visited him in his dreams. The dreams, which I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 2, seem to have paralleled Hakki's progress on the Sufi path and to have forecast his future centrality in the Celveti order.

2. In the shadow of the master: Preaching posts on the Balkans

After completing his formal education, Hakki took on a series of preaching posts in Skopje, Veles, and Strumitsa, (all currently in the territory of the Republic of Macedonia). He went to Skopje in 1675. While residing there, he founded a Celveti convent, and married Afīfe, the daughter of Shaykh Muṣṭafā 'Ushshāḳī,.[23] Hakki's first son, Ishak, was born in Skopje in 1682.

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20 *İsmail Hakkı,* p. 38.

21 Ali Namli, "Ismāil Hakkı Bursevī," in *İA* (2001), v. 23, 102.

22 See Günay Alpay Kut, "Ismā'īl Haḳḳi," in *EI*^{2}.

23 *İsmail Hakkı*, 115.

During his residence in Skopje, Hakki became embroiled in a conflict with the local religious leaders which led to Hakki's indictment and subsequent appeals to a number of high-ranking officials in Istanbul.[24] The incident, which I analyze in detail in Chapter 2, highlights the competing notions of Islamic orthodoxy in the Ottoman Balkans in the late seventeenth century, and the place of Hakki as a young preacher who received more support from the imperial court than from the local religious elite in Skopje.

After preaching in Veles and Strumitsa, in 1685, Hakki was summoned by his *pīr* to Edirne, where the latter was advising Sultan Mehmed IV. There he spent three months, reading Ibn 'Arabi's *Fuṣūsu'l-ḥikam* with Osman Fazlı. After the death of Fazlı's appointee in Bursa, Hakki was given his post. During the first year and a half of his decade-long stay in Bursa, Hakki continued to pay frequent visits to his *pīr* in Istanbul. When the latter was exiled to Cyprus for his criticism of Ottoman foreign policy, Hakki traveled there to visit him (1690-91). Hakki recorded his conversations with the shaykh during those visits in a work he dedicated to his master, the *Tamāmu'l-feyz fī bābi'l-ricāl, The completion of the divine emanation in the domain of man*. Several of those recorded encounters point to Osman Fazlı's implicit choice of Hakki as his spiritual successor. Osman Fazlı passed away in 1691, an event which deeply saddened Hakki, who provides a rather solemn record of that year.[25] Following Fazlı's death, Hakki seems to have succeeded him as the shaykh of the Celveti order: a succession, which, as I will demonstrate shortly, he justifies through accounts of conversations with his master, as

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[24] Namlı, "Ismāil Hakkı Bursevī," 102. I discuss Hakki's presentation of the conflict in Chapter 3.

[25] *Yādigār-ı Şemsī*, p. 176.

well as dreams and visions, all of which indicate Hakki's position as Fazlı's foremost disciple.

3. Beginnings of shaykhhood: Life as an itinerant scholar

Hakki's involvement with Ottoman officialdom began shortly after he rose to the shaykhhood. In the year between 1695 and 1696, he was summoned by the Grand Vizier Elmas Mehmed Pasha to take part in the Austrian campaigns to boost the morale of the troops and to provide advice and guidance (*va'aẓ ve naṣihāt*) to the Grand Vizier and Sultan Mustafa II. Hakki reports that his injuries from the expeditions took between five and ten years to heal.[26]

After returning to Bursa, Hakki spent the next twenty years of his life as an itinerant scholar. He went on the Hajj for the first time in 1111/1700, spending over seven months in Mecca and Medina where he reports having a spiritual experience in the Prophet's Mosque that indicated that he had reached the status of a Axis of Guidance (*quṭb irşād*). While in the vicinity of the two Holy Cities, he also reports having visions of Abdulkādir Geylāni (d. 1166), Khidr, and the prophet Adam.[27] Hakki reports that on his way back from the pilgrimage, his caravan was attacked by bandits, and he lost an

[26] *İsmail Hakkı*, 73.

[27] Ibid., 74-77. See Jacqueline Chabbi, "ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī," in *EI*[3]; A.J. Wensinck, "al-Khaḍir (al-Khiḍr)," in *EI*[2], and Roberto Tottoli, "Adam," in *EI*[3].

anthology of writings he composed while in Mecca, entitled *Esrāru'l-Hacc* (*The Secrets of the Pilgrimage*).[28]

Upon his return from the Hajj, Hakki was confronted with the murder of a Sufi in the Grand Mosque of Bursa (Ulu Cami), an event which highlighted the deep divisions among religious scholars on questions of orthopraxy. The Sufi was killed due to a disagreement with students at a local madrasa over his prayer on the Night of Power (*laylatu'l-qadr*). Hakki issued a critique of the killers, arguing that they only acted under the guise of religious scholars (*ulama*) but did not deserve that title, for had they been such and God-fearing, they wouldn't have commited the brutal act. He further comments on their refusal to cooperate with an adjudicator that Sultan Mustafa sent to the city to help resolve the issue.[29]

A few years later, Hakki witnessed another historic event, known as the Edirne Event of 1703, a Janissary revolt in the course of which the Şeyhülislām Feyzullah Efendi was killed, Sultan Mustafa II dethroned, and Ahmed III installed in his place. The unrest was sparked by the growing political influence and nepotism of the Şeyhülislām, the Sultan's preference for residing in Edirne over the capital Istanbul, and the delayed payments of soldiers' salaries. The rebellion was led by members of the military, the ulama, and merchants of Istanbul, each of which had grievances against the Ottoman state.[30] While showing displeasure with the violence between fellow Muslims, Hakki is

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[28] Ibid., 299.

[29] Ibid., 80-81.

[30] Abdülkadir Özcan, "Edirne Vak'ası," in *İA*, vol 10 (1994), 446-448. Also see Rifa'at Abou-El-Haj, *The*

also critical of the Sultan, who, in his view, was more interested in women and hunting, and in following the advice of those denying the religious legitimacy of Sufis (*ehl-i inkār*) to which Feyzullah belonged, than in maintaining his legitimacy through an allegiance to Sufis (*ehl-i haḳḳ*).[31]

The time period seems to have been fruitful for Hakki as an author: he reports completing his multi-volume Qur'anic commentary, *Rūḥu'l-beyān* in 1705. Three years later, he writes of hearing a voice telling him that he is the Axis of his time (*quṭbu'l-waqt*), referring to the Axis of Guidance, of which there are many, and not the Axis of Being, of which there is only one. Hakki explains the difference between the two as involving a different level of divine self-disclosure (*tajallī*).[32]

Hakki embarked on his second pilgrimage to Mecca in 1710. During the initial phase of the trip, from Bursa to Istanbul, he met the Grand Vizier Çorlulu 'Ali Pasha, whom he had previously encountered. He recounts that Çorlulu 'Ali asked him various questions, including about his future. Hakki reports at that moment having looked into the Grand Vizier's heart. [33]

On his way to Mecca and Medina, Hakki stopped in Cairo. He stayed in the city for two months, meeting with local Sufis and ulama. He also taught at Al-Azhar on the

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1703 rebellion and the structure of Ottoman politics (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Aracheologish Instituut te Istanbul, 1984).

31 *İsmail Hakkı*, 83.

32 Ibid, 85-86.

33 Ibid, 86.

invitation of the Shafi'i jurist and Azhar shaykh Ahmed b. Muhammad al-Birmāvī (d. 1694) – an indication of the popularity he enjoyed among the Cairene scholars.[34]

Hakki reports reaching Mecca in October 1710. He describes a number of extraordinary events that took place at that time. In one incident, he encountered the mythical Khidr[35] who appeared to him in human form and, after whispering some secrets in Hakki's ear, smiled and disappeared into the crowd circumambulating the Ka'ba. In another, Hakki's friends, who had gathered near the Ka'ba, asked him to give a sermon (*wa'aẓ*). Unsure of his aptitude to do this in the holy site, Hakki reports surrendering his free will to God on the matter. On the first day, he read the sermon but lost his voice; he then found himself panting on the following days. Interpreting these events as divine signs, he stopped preaching.[36]

Upon his return from the pilgrimage, Hakki spent a few months in Istanbul: a choice which met with the disapproval of his wife, who requested his return to Bursa. A divine sign (*izn-i ilāhi*) thus sent Hakki back to Bursa in July 1711. There, he built a small mosque in which he taught Bayḍāwi's *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-taʾwīl* (*The Lights of revelation, and the secrets of interpretation).*[37]

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[34] Ibid, 87-88. For more information on Birmāvī, see Rahmi Yaran, "Birmāvī, Ibrahīm b. Muhammad," *İA*, vol 6 (1992), 203-204.

[35] See n.21.

[36] *İsmail Hakkı*, 88.

[37] Ibid., 89. See Robson, J., "al-Bayḍāwī," in *EI*^{2}.

In June 1714, Hakki went to Tekirdağ. There, on the advice of his shaykh, he married Fazlı's favorite daughter, Hanīfe, who passed away two years later, in the same year in which their son, Tāhir Mehmed, was born. In Tekirdağ, Hakki also married his third wife, Aişe (d. 1747) in November 1714.

Hakki's three-year stay in Tekirdağ seems to have been fruitful: in 1715, a library and a small bath were built on his order.[38] He reports having a spiritual experience during which he encountered the four spiritual pegs (*awtād*) upon which the saintly hierarchy is established. The pegs then indicated Hakki's position as the chosen successor to the Celestial Axis (*quṭb*).[39]

Even when far from Istanbul, Hakki seems to have maintained close contact with Ottoman officials. In 1715, he sent a letter to Damad 'Ali Pasha, the Grand Vizier, congratulating him on his success in his expedition against the Venetians, which reversed the latter's victory of 1699.[40]

4. Residence in Damascus

Hakki left Tekirdağ in 1717 and returned to Bursa. A divine sign (*işāret-i mānevi*), however, led him to move with his family to Damascus: a move which he later likened to the Hijra Muhammad performed from Mecca to Medina. He stayed there for

[38] Ibid., 89.

[39] Ibid., 90. I discuss Hakki's notion of the pegs in Chapter 5.

[40] Ibid., 91.

47 months, as instructed to do so in a divine "visitation" (*vārid*).[41] During his residence in Damascus, Hakki composed a dedicatory treatise to the local governor, Recep Pasha, *Tuhfe-i Recebiye*.[42]

Hakki's initial stay in the city appears to have been one full of material challenges until 1718, when members of the local religious elite gave him a salaried appointment. Despite this relief, Hakki describes difficult conditions on the ground: deadly illness spread among his children and followers, while bandits pillaged the town, causing widespread fear among the locals.[43]

During his stay in Damascus, Hakki connected with a number of scholars, including 'Abdülgani Nablūsi, with whom he shared an interest in Ibn 'Arabi's metaphysics. With him he discussed the permissibility of smoking tobacco, which seems to have been a controversial topic at the time.[44] While in Damascus, Hakki also frequented the tomb of Ibn 'Arabi, where he received a number of visions, indicating that he had reached the axial status (*quṭbiyya*), a position at the top of the saintly hierarchy.[45]

Divinely inspired dreams led Hakki back to Üsküdar in 1720. His stay there was marked by an increased proximity to Ottoman officials. He received a residence from the Grand Vizier Damad Ibrahim Pasha. He addressed other officials, such as to the Chief

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[41] See Chapter 1, n.13.

[42] Ibid. 91-92.

[43] Ibid., 93-94.

[44] Ibid., 96-97.

[45] Ibid, 100-102.

Bodyguard of the Sultan (*serhaseki*), Tubāzāde Mehmed, in his treatise *Tuhfe-i Hasekiyye* and to the Superintendent of the Imperial Gardens (*hasbahçeler müfettişi*), Bahrī Hüseyin Efendi, the *Risale-i Hüseyniye* and the *Tuhfe-i Bahriyye*.[46]

Hakki's sermons on the unity of being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*) appear to have created a controversy among local members of the religious establishment, and in 1722 his patron, Damad Ibrahim Pasha, received a complaint from the Mufti of Istanbul, on the grounds that Hakki said, "There is no God but me" (*Lā ilāha illā ana*). Overwhelming support for Hakki, however, prevented his prosecution. Namlı's analysis of this incident points to the high that Hakki's sermons on God's unity (*tawḥīd*) were taken out of context.[47] He also notes that the controversy which centered on Hakki's sermons in Üsküdar led earlier biographers to speculate about him being sent into exile to Tekirdağ, a possibility which Namlı dismisses on the basis of Hakki's own memoirs of this time period.[48]

In 1723, Hakki moved back to Bursa. There, he erected the Muhammediye Mosque using his own funds, and renovated his tekke in the city.[49] He died two years later, on July 20, 1725, and was buried in a tomb next to the mosque he built near Tuzpazari.[50]

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46 Ibid., 103-105. See Chapter 5 for a discussion on these treatises.

47 Ibid., 106.

48 Ibid., 108.

49 Ibid., 111.

50 Namlı, "Ismāil Hakkı Bursevī," 103.

III. Hakki's place in the Celveti order: A reassessment

Although there are several biographical studies of Ismail Hakki, his place in the institutional history of the Celveti order is yet to be fully assessed. The present study seeks to address this gap in the scholarship on this important figure by focusing on Hakki's literary self-representation. I argue that Hakki's self-portraits in relation to those of other members of the Ottoman learned elite reveal his key notions of religious authority and thereby help us understand the social dynamics of Sufism in the context of the Ottoman state.

It is widely accepted among Turkish scholars of Ottoman Sufism (and of Ismail Hakki, in particular) that Hakki was, along with his master, Osman Fazlı, the founding figure of a new subbranch in the Celveti order, referred to as the Hakkiye.[51] However, the individual or institutional aspects of this process have not received scholarly attention. A close look at Hakki's works does not reveal any explicit statements that he envisioned himself as the creator of a new subbranch to the Celveti order. In fact, he repeatedly highlights his association with the Celveti order ("Jilwati with [the letter] 'jīm'," as he often points out in Arabic, to distinguish from the Halveti (Khalwati) order, the difference between the two first letters being a single dot). It is thus likely that the split occurred at a later point, and followers of the Hakkiye branch back-projected their origins on Hakki. By contextualizing Hakki's self-representations within the history of the

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[51] Ibid., 102; H. Kāmil Yılmaz, *Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi ve Celvetiyye Tarīkatı*, 4th edition (Erenköy, 1999), 244.

Celveti order, it becomes clear that the leadership to the Celveti order was already being contested, and that Hakki's literary self-portrayals were the product of institutional anxieties and disagreements surrounding the order.

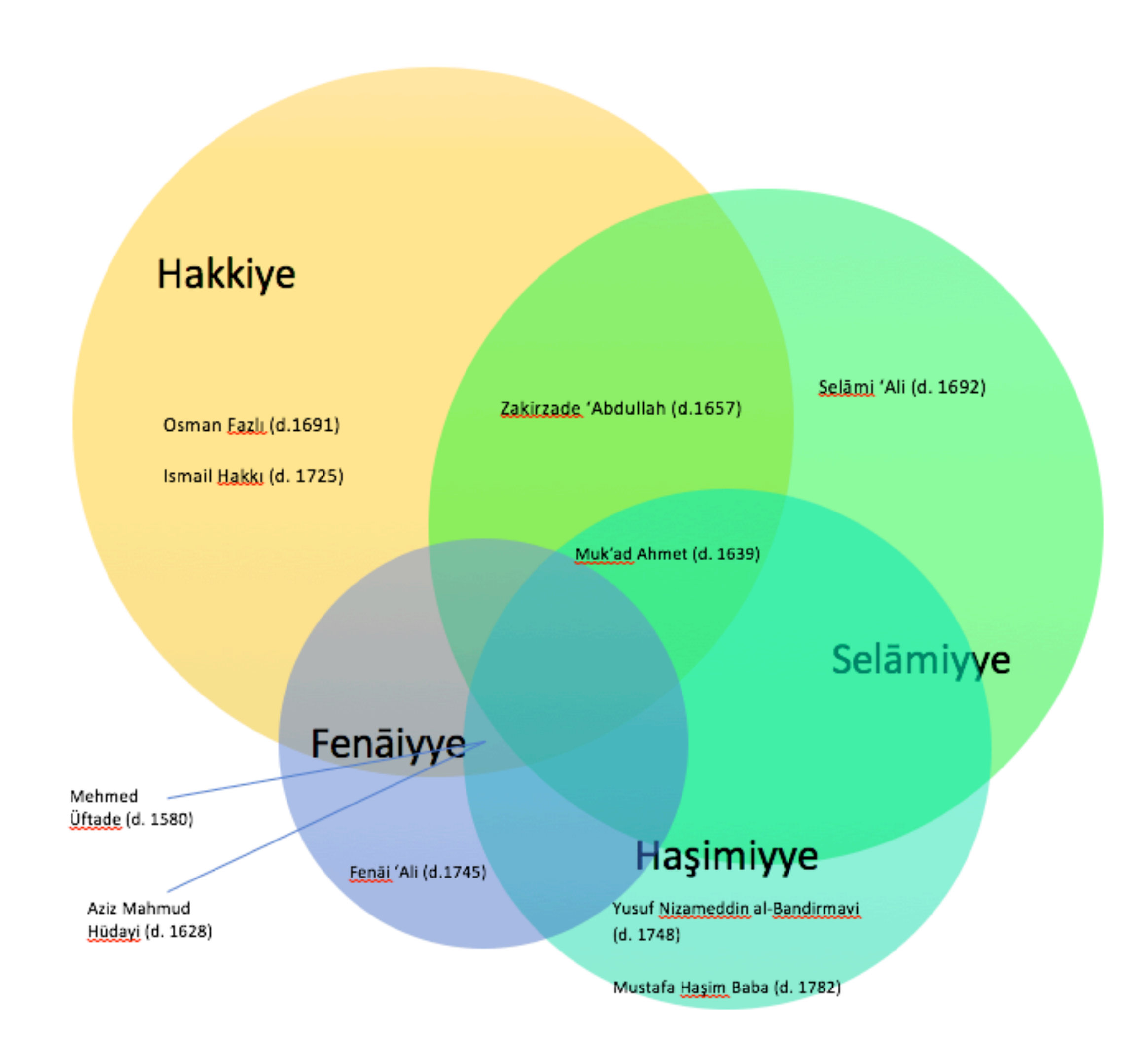


Figure 1. The Celveti order's shaykhs, per branch, according to H. Kamil Yılmaz, Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi ve Celveti Tarikati

Hakki's treatise on the Celveti order, the *Silsilenāme-yi Celvetiye*, contains important information about its author's perception of Celveti authority. In it, Hakki

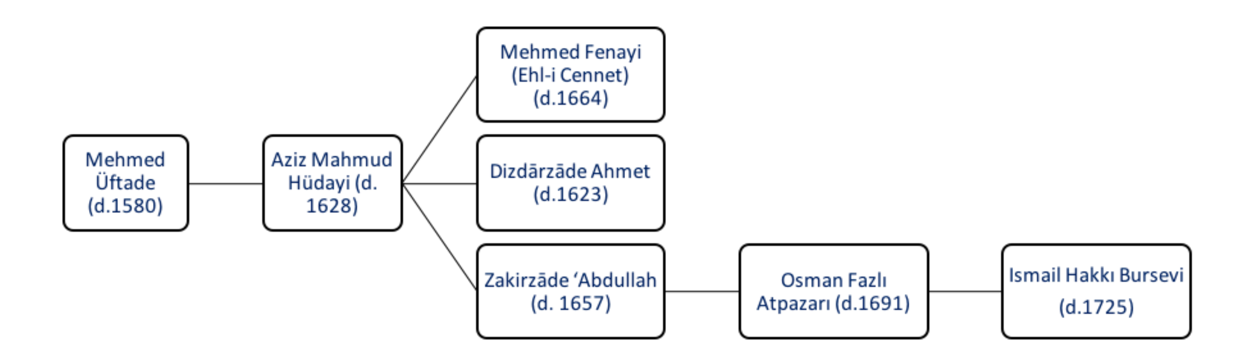


Figure 2. The Celveti order's *silsila* from Mehmed Üftade to Ismail Hakki, according to Hakki's *Silsilenāme-yi Celvetiye*

includes no entry on Muk'ad Ahmet (d. 1639), considered by Turkish scholar on the Celveti order Hasan Kamil Yılmaz to be a shaykh in the Hakkiye, Selāmiyye, and Haşimiyye subbranches, or of Selāmi 'Ali (d. 1692), the eponymous founder of the Selāmiye subbranch of the Celveti order. For Hakki, the Celveti *silsila* between its founders, Mehmed Üftade (d.1580) and Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi (d. 1628), on the one hand, and his own master, Osman Fazlı (d. 1691), on the other, includes only three shaykhs: Dizdārzāde Ahmet (d. 1623), Mehmed Fenayi (d. 1664), and Zākirzāde 'Abdullah (d. 1657). Of Dizdārzāde Ahmed, Hakki writes

> His renown is great such that he is triumphant over all [who obtain divine knowledge] by tasting (*zevkinde*). This is why he is [included] within the genealogy of masters […][52]

Hakki also observes that a division "of two tasters (*iki zā'iḳ*)" took place, with Ahmed being one, and Ehl-i Cennet (The People of Heaven) being the other. He also notes that Ahmed Efendi's *silsila* was continuous (*mawṣūl*), but that the Ehl-i Cennet's was discontinued.

> After his children, however, the breath [of guidance] ceased, and his line (*silsile*) was interrupted (*munqaṭi'*).[53]

Hakki's omission of Selāmi 'Ali is significant in light of the latter's renown as the head of the Celveti Grand Lodge (*asitāne*) in Istanbul in 1679.[54] However, due to an unspecified conflict he had with the Kadizādeli preacher Vanī Mehmed (d. 1685), Selāmi was removed from his post by Sultan Mehmed IV. It is likely that the confrontration between the two reflected the broader criticisms that preachers in the revivalist Kadizadeli movement had against Sufis whose practices, the Kadizādelis argued, had gone beyond the established sunna and approximated sinful innovation (*bid'a*).[55] Following the disastrous Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1683, Vāni Mehmed, in turn, fell out of favor with the Sultan and was exiled to a village near Bursa. The Sultan then reinstated Selāmi as the head of the Celveti Grand Lodge with an imperial order (*hatt-ı*

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52 Ismail Hakki Bursevi, *Silsilenāme-yi Celvetiye*, (Istanbul: Haydarpaşa Hastanesi Matbaasında, 1291 [1874 or 5]), 90.

53 Ibid.

54 Ihsan Kara, "Selāmi Ali Efendi," in *İA*, vol. 36 (2009), 348-49.

55 See Zilfi, "The Kadizadelis," 255.

hümāyun), an indication of the whimsical nature of sultanic patronage of Sufis, but also pointing to Selāmi's recognition as an influential Sufi master.[56]

Kamil Yilmaz, a scholar of Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi and the Celveti order, credits Selāmi with a characteristic style of *dhikr* practice which became the hallmark of the Selāmiye subbranch of the Celveti order.[57] Unlike Hakki, he seems to have urged asceticism and a withdrawal from public life.[58] By arguing that the chain (*silsila*) of one of Hüdayi's students was broken (*munqaṭi'*), but that of another one was continuous (*mawṣūl*), Hakki legitimizes one master's disciples and delegitimizes the other's. The absence in the *Silsilenāme* of an entry on Selāmi 'Ali is also telling for the fact that Hakki viewed his own line of succession to be the authoritative Celveti order.

The aforementioned differences in the way Hakki and Selāmi envisioned Sufis' involvement in public life likely attracted different followings, leading to an eventual split in the order. While it is difficult to pinpoint when exactly the split might have occurred, it probably happened after Hakki's death. Hakki's continuous efforts to present himself as the leading Celveti Sufi after the death of the founder of the order, Hüdayi, may therefore be seen as a glimpse into the institutional anxieties the order was beginning to experience during his lifetime in general, and Hakki's perception of a leadership crisis

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[56] Kara, "Selāmi Ali Efendi," 349.

[57] Yılmaz, *Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi*, 244-245.

[58] Mustafa Tatcı, M. Cemāl Öztürk, and Taxhiddin Bytyqi, eds., *Selami Ali Efendi: Hayatı, Tarikat-nāmesi ve Vakfiyesi* (Istanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları, 2006), 106-107, 109.

in the Celvetiye in particular. In the present study, I will examine Hakki's responses to these perceived problems by focusing on his conceptualizations of religious authority. To be precise, I will study Hakki's self-representations as they appear in his autobiographical notes and in his dedicatory treatises to Ottoman officials. These different genres, as I argue in Chapter 2 have complementary roles, as they contain glimpses into Hakki's self-understanding both directly (in his autobiographical notes) and indirectly (in his advice works to officials).

In his autobiographical note in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz*, a work dedicated to the sayings of his master Osman Fazlı (d. 1691), which I examine in Chapter 3, Hakki staunchly defends his status as heir to Fazlı by claiming a close relationship to his master. Through an account of his early encounter with Fazlı and conversations in which the latter extols Hakki as his foremost student, a sequence of dream accounts in which Sufis and prophets testify to his progress, and a narrative of worldly obstacles which he surmounts through divine intervention, Hakki justifies his position as an extraordinary Sufi, chosen among others by higher authorities. The metaphysical notion of the Breath of Guidance, which is passed from a master to his chosen disciple, a parallel to the Breath of God, which animates the soul in the body, provides further metaphysical justification for Hakki's position as Fazlı's obvious successor.

In Chapter 4, I focus on Hakki's self-representation in his autobiographical entry in the *Silsilenāme-yi Celvetiye*. I argue that his claims to legitimacy as the Celveti Sufi master are established through a record of visions in which he receives the blessing of the founding figures of the order, Mehmed Üftade (d. 1581) and Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi (d.

1628), who assert his position at the top of the saintly hierarchy. Hakki also lists twenty-two of his works to establish his authority as a prolific scholar.

Hakki also claims religious authority indirectly, by redefining and deploying the metaphysical concept of the Celestial Axis, (*quṭb*), a concept which he expounds in his dedicatory treatises (*tuhfe*) to Ottoman officials. By portraying the saintly hierarchy in parallels to the Ottoman ruling hierarchy, Hakki legitimizes the Ottoman state. As I demonstrate in Chapter 5, however, a closer look at Hakki's discussion of the Axis reveals that he, in fact positions the Axis (and by implication, himself), in an advisory capacity, but one that is well above the ruler.

CHAPTER 2.

POTRAYING POWER: DEPICTIONS OF AUTHORITY IN ISMAIL HAKKI'S WRITINGS

A survey of Hakki's writings reveals the breadth of his intellectual interests: poetry (*Divān ve makālāt*), lexicography (*Kitābu'l-furūḳ*), Qur'anic interpretation (*Rūḥu'l-beyān fī tafsīri'l-Ḳur'ān*), visionary diaries (*Vāridāt*), commentaries (*Şerhu risāle fi'l-ādābi'l-münāzara li Taşköprīzāde*), dedicatory treatises (*Tuhfe-i Vesīmiye*, *Tuhfe-i Hasekiye*, among others). A thorough examination and analysis of Hakki's intellectual output would extend far beyond the limits of the current study, a look at the ways in which Hakki portrays the social roles of Sufis in general and himself in particular yields important insights about his notions of religious authority and the boundaries of Islamic orthodoxy in the early seventeenth-century Ottoman Empire. Specifically, a study of how Hakki re-defines and deploys the institutions of the Sufi master, order, and the Celestial Axis across his writings highlights how he employs literary tools and methaphysical concepts indirectly, but powerfully, to buttress his own authority as the most influential Celveti master since its founder.

In order to understand the sources of Sufi authority as conceived by Hakki, I will focus on self-representation in Hakki's autobiographical notes and the works of advice that he dedicated to Ottoman officials. When writing about himself, Hakki argues for his exemplary status as the disciple of an influential master whom he succeeded as the head

of the Celveti order, making his autobiographical notes key to understanding his notions of authority. Hakki's broader claim to spiritual legitimacy is rooted in his self-asserted status as the axis mundi, or Celestial Axis (*quṭb*) and one of the most important Sufis of the time. While the concept of the *quṭb* runs through a number of his works, it is uniquely visible vis-à-vis worldly notions of power in Hakki's writings which he presented to Ottoman officials in the form of gift treatises (*tuhfe*).[59]

In the present chapter, I situate these two genres of writing – autobiographical notes and works of advice – in the existing scholarship on Ismail Hakki and the broader study of the early modern Ottoman and Islamic intellectual traditions. I will then identify the theoretical frameworks and major questions to be addressed in my study of his self-representation in Chapters 3, 4, and 5.

I. Writing of the Self: Ismail Hakki and Autobiography

Important clues about Ismail Hakki's conceptualizations of religious authority are available in his self-narratives across his autobiographical notes. As he outlines his progression from Sufi novice to master, Hakki creates a self-representation that, at times, derives legitimacy from his affiliation with an influential master and, at other times, from his membership in the Celveti order. While Hakki's autobiographical notes, to which I shall turn shortly, have received some scholarly attention, such attention has focused

[59] *Tuhfe* means a "gift," and in the broadest sense refers to a treatise dedicated to a well-known person. See Şemseddin Sami, *Kāmūs-u Türkī*, edited by Paşa Yavuzarslan (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2010), 1243.

primarily on their historical value as sources for Hakki's persona and biography. To date, Hakki's autobiographical notes have not been examined as literary sources with their own ideological and rhetorical goals meriting a closer textual analysis. Before embarking on such an endeavor, I will trace the ways in which modern and pre-modern biographers have contributed to our knowledge about Hakki's life and persona.

Three modern Turkish scholars have undertaken the task of outlining Hakki's biography: Mehmet Ali Ayni, Sakib Yıldız, and Ali Namlı. Ayni published the first article on Ismail Hakki in Turkish in 1928, followed by an exploration of Hakki's philosophical ideas in French in 1944.[60] In 1972, Yıldız wrote his doctoral dissertation on Hakki's life, works, and his well-known Qur'anic commentary entitled *Rūḥu'l-beyān* (*The spirit of elucidation*) and four years later, he published an article outlining Hakki's life.[61] In 2001, Ali Namlı composed the most detailed survey of Hakki's life and works to date.[62] In their construction of his biography, all three authors cite sources that contain references to Hakki as well as autobiographical anecdotes from Hakki's writings, pointing to the central place of his self-narrative as a historical source.

Biographical entries on Hakki by his contemporaries and later authors reveal important information about how members of the Ottoman literary elite perceived him. Among the pre-modern authors that included Hakki in their biographical dictionaries

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[60] Mehmet Ali Aynı, *Ismaïl Hakki: philosophe mystique, 1653-1725* (Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1933).

[61] Sakib Yıldız, "Türk Müfessiri İsma'il Haḳḳi Burūsevi'nin Hayatı", in *Atatürk Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 0 (1), 1975: 103-126.

[62] See Chapter 1, n. 10.

(*ṭabaqāt*), praise of his literary accomplishments abounds. Most often these accounts mention his fluency in several languages, prolific literary output, and dedication to the Sufi path. In his appendix to Taşkoprizade's *Şakā'ik-i Nu'maniyye – Vekāyiu'l-fuzalā* – the Nakşibendi shaykh Şeyhi Mehmed Efendi (1668-1731) describes Hakki as a "content dervish" (*derviş kāni'*), a "humble writer" (*adīb mütevāzi*), and a "zealous devotee and ascetic". He further notes that Hakki's Qur'anic exegesis was superior to that of other scholars and that his metaphysical speculation (*naẓar*) was unparalleled among Sufi shaykhs.[63] A generation later, the Kazasker[64] Mehmet Emin Salim (1688-1743) describes Hakki as a learned (*fāzil*) and knowledgeable (*āgāh*) man in the niche of whose heart "a lamp was lit up with the lights of the divine gift".[65] The Ottoman official also mentions that Hakki was an outstanding poet (*fahl*) who wrote in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, and a prolific author, particularly knowledgeable in his Sufi interpretation of the Qur'an and hadith. [66] Poet and historian Hüseyn Ramiz (1736-1788) praises Ismail Hakki for his unique aptitude for the study of esoteric knowledge (*'ulūm-i bāṭiniye*) as well as his

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[63] Şeyhi Mehmed Efendi, *Şakaik-i Nu'maniyye ve Zeyilleri: Vekāyiu'l-fuzalā II-III*. Edited by Abdülkadir Özcan (Istanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989), 683. This incident is also mentioned in Muallim Naci, *Esāmi: Millet islamiyye'de en ziyāde şühret bulmuş olan ricāl ve nisādan (700) kadarının hurūf hecā tertībi üzere muhtasar-i terācim-i ehvālini hāvidir* (Istanbul: Mahmūd Bey Matb'ası, 1308 (1890)), 59. For more information on Şeyhi Mehmed Efendi, see Abdülkadir Özcan, "Şeyhī Mehmed Efendi," in *İA*, vol. 39 (2010), 82-84.

[64] Salim held the post of the Kazasker of Anatolia in 1730-31 and then of Rumelia in 1736-37. See Hüseyin Güfta, "Sālim," in *İA,* vol. 36 (2009), 46-47. The Kazasker was an Ottoman judicial official with a military jurisdiction as well as supervisory powers over the rest of the qadis in the Empire. After the 16th century, their power was more limited, to the benefit of the Şeyhülislam, the grand mufti in the Empire. See, Gy. Káldy-nagy, "Qāḍi 'Askar," in *EI*[2].

[65] *Mişkāt kalpleri misbāh envar-i 'atiyye-i ilahi ile münevver olup.* It is likely that this is a reference to the Qur'an 24:35. Sālim Efendi, *Tezkire-i Sālim.* Edited by Ahmed Cevdet, (Istanbul: Ikdām matba'asi, 1315 (1897)), 227.

[66] Ibid., 228.

unparalleled skill in Arabic and Persian.[67] Nineteenth-century literary critic and author, Muallim Naci (1849-1893) writes that Hakki's writing in Ottoman Turkish was extraordinary for his time and further reports that he frequently received messages from a divine source.[68] In his encyclopedic biographical dictionary dedicated to Ottoman writers, Ottoman writer and soldier Mehmet Tahir (1861-1925) describes Hakki as a "virtuous scholar known among the Ottoman ulama and shaykhs for his works, the number of which exceeds a hundred."[69] Finally, Sufi historian Mehmet Şemseddin (1866-1936) mentions that Hakki was well known for his miracles, which are so numerous that listing all of them is humanly impossible.[70]

Some of these biographical sources indicate that a number of Hakki's ideas faced opposition among members of the Ottoman religious elite. Şeyhi Mehmed Efendi notes that due to Hakki's discussions of the oneness of being (*wahdat al-wujūd*), in 1134 (1721/1722 C.E.) he was banished to Tekirdağ.[71] Naci writes that the reason for Hakki's banishment was his disagreement with other religious scholars over certain abstruse (*mağluk*) matters. Naci further writes that once in Tekirdağ, Hakki recounted the tyranny

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[67] *Rāmiz ve Ādāb-i Ẓurafā'si. Inceleme – Tenkidli Metin – İndeks – Sözlük*. Edited by Sadik Erdem. Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayını, No. 79. *Şuarā Tezkireleri Dizisi*, No.1 (1994): 81. For more information on Ramiz, see Sadık Erdem, "Rāmiz," in *İA*, vol. 34 (2001), 451.

[68] Muallim Naci, *Esāmi*, 59. For more information on Naci, see Abdullah Uçman, "Muallim Nāci," in *İA,* vol. 30 (2005), 315-17.

[69] Tahir lists 105 of Hakki's writings and notes that his largest and best known work is *Rūḥu'l-bayān*. Brusali Meḥmet Tahir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri.* Vol. 1., (Istanbul: Matb'a-i 'Āmira, 1333 (1914)), 28-30.

[70] Mehmet Şemseddin, *Yādigār-i Şemsi* (Bursa: Matb'a-i Vilāyet, 1332 (1913)), 128. For more information on Şemseddin, see Mustafa Tatcı, Mehmed Cemal Öztürk, "Ulusoy, Mehmet Şemseddin," in *İA*, vol. 42 (2012), 135-36.

[71] *Şakaik-i Nu'maniyye ve Zeyilleri*, 683.

of locals caused by their ignorance.[72] Without mentioning a specific incident, Şemseddin notes that Hakki's open discussion of the "secrets of divine unicity (*esrār-ı tevhīd*)" were met with objections by some of the older shaykhs.[73]

Significant portions of Hakki's autobiographical writings inform at least two biographical works dating from the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries that include an entry on him. Şemseddin's *Yādigār-i Şemsi,* the last Ottoman biographical work that includes a biographical entry on Hakki*, Kemāl-nāme-yi Ismail Hakkı* by Osmanzade Hüseyin Vassaf[74] provide the most detailed narrative of Hakki's life (prior to contemporary scholars Sakib Yıldız and Ali Namlı). Şemseddin's account includes quotations from the autobiographical accounts of Hakki, as well biographical accounts of other authors about him, specifies the dates of his travels (by year) and even provides anecdotes about some of the dreams and miracles he experienced.[75] Vassaf's biography of Hakki is more noteworthy in that the narrative is almost exclusively based on direct quotations from Hakki's own works, both poetry and prose, particularly in recounting the Sufi's dreams and visions. It is, in effect, a biography compiled out of autobiographical notes.

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[72] *Esāmi*, 59.

[73] *Yādigār-i Şemsi*, 127-128. Şemseddin notes that Hakki's approach to the issue changed over the years.

[74] Vassaf (1872-1929), who is perhaps more famous for his *tabaqāt* work *Sefīne-i Evliya*, was an Ottoman customs official who was very active in Sufi circles and held an *ijāza* from three Sufi orders, the Şa'baniye, Gülşeniye, and Uşşākiye. After hearing of Ismail Hakki, he signed his name as Hüseyin Vassāf-ı Celveti" and considered himself a member of the Celveti order. See Hüseyin Vassaf, *Kemal-nāme-i Ismail Hakkı.* Edited by M. Murat Yurtsever (Bursa: Arasta Yayınları, 2000), xv.

[75] Most notable among them is the event associated with his writing the Qur'anic commentary *Ruhu'l-beyān*. According to the story, his wife entered his meditation cell (*çilehāne*) to ensure her spouse was eating regularly, and what she saw instead of Ismail Hakki was 40 copies of him, all diligently writing the *tafsir*. See Şemseddin, *Yādigār-i Şemsi*, 141.

Şemseddin and Vassaf were part of a larger phenomenon around the turn of the nineteenth century, in which scholars increasingly turned to autobiography as a valuable source of history. Around the same time, the German philosophers Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911) and his student George Misch (1878-1965) produced studies of autobiography (including Arabic autobiography) that laid the foundation for Western scholars' engagement with these sources for decades to come. Dilthey believed that autobiography was the "most direct expression of reflection on life" and argued for its key role as a historical document.[76] Misch composed his expansive study of autobiography (including a number of "Oriental" examples), *Geschichte der Autobiographie (The History of Autobiography)* under a similar sentiment.[77] As I will discuss below, the long-standing view of Arabic autobiography's lack of "personality" was asserted by scholars such as Misch and Franz Rosenthal (1914-2003) who argued that "[the] autobiographical tradition in Islam is bound less to personality than to the subject matter".[78]

The trend to utilize Hakki's autobiographical writings as the main source for his biography continued into the contemporary period. The two most recently published studies of Ismail Hakki's life – by Yıldız (1975) and Namlı (2001) – reconstruct Hakki's life story almost entirely out of his own writings. Their effort to shed more light on the life of this prominent yet understudied historical is an important contribution to the study

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[76] Wilhelm Dilthey, *Der Aufbau der geschichtlichen Welt in den Geisteswissenschaften* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1970), 242.

[77] George Misch, *Geschichte der Autobiographie*, 4 vols. (Bern and Frankfurt: A. Francke and Gerhard Schuldtke-Bulmke, 1949-69), vol 1, part 1, 22; vol. 1, part 2, 552; vol. 3, part 3, 908.

[78] Franz Rosenthal, "Die arabische Autobiographie," in *Studia Arabica* 1 (1937): 1-40.

of Ottoman Sufism and intellectual history.

By evaluating his autobiographical writings from a strictly historical perspective, however, these scholars have not reflected on the narratives' literary form – a long-overdue dimension to the study of non-European autobiographical writings. For example, Hakki's dream accounts and his discussions of other topics (metaphysics, knowledge acquisition, travel, etc.) are either excluded from the biographer's presentation of the text (Yıldız), or they are mentioned uncritically, without an analysis of their place and role in the larger narrative (Namlı). Similarly, neither of these scholars addresses the rhetorical function of non-narrative elements such as poetry, which the author also includes in his autobiographical notes.

As I will demonstrate below, examining the literary form and style of Hakki's autobiographical accounts presents a more nuanced view of how this prominent Sufi fit into his ideological, political and social milieu. The function of literary form – in addition to content – in producing meaning, has largely been neglected in Ottoman studies. However, close reading of Hakki's autobiographical writings reveals that literary form plays a crucial role in the ways in which this prominent Sufi writer constructs his self-image and is key to understanding his notions of religious authority and how he positioned himself vis-à-vis other members of the religious elite and non-elite.

II. Autobiographical writings in the Middle East: a personal matter?

There is a long-standing tradition of autobiographical writing in Islamic literary

contexts, and self-narratives by Sufi authors are no exception. Some of the earliest preserved Arabic autobiographical accounts are those of early ascetics.[79] Later monumental Sufi figures, such as al-Ghazālī (1058-1111), Ibn ʻArabi (1165-1240), al-Simnānī (1261-1336), and al-Yūsī (1631-1691) also composed narratives of their lives.[80]

Despite a substantial number of monographs and articles that examine the autobiographical writing by a single Sufi author, Sufi autobiographies – as a class of literary works – have yet to receive a systematic scholarly treatment in the field of Islamic studies. This lack of scholarly attention to Sufi autobiographies stands in a somewhat sharp contrast to Sufi biographical dictionaries, which have been the subject of a more thorough scholarly scrutiny.[81] One possible explanation for this discrepancy in the

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[79] Such as Abu ʻAbd Allah al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibi (ca. 781-857), (translated passages of his conversion account, related in his *Kitāb al-Naṣā'iḥ* (also known as *al-Waṣāyā*), are available in Louis Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*. (Paris: P. Guethner, 1922), and Margaret Smith, *An Early Mystic of Baghdad: A Study of the Life and Teaching of Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsībī.* London: Sheldon Press, 1935; also see Gavin Picken, *Spiritual Purification and Islam: The Life and Works of al-Muhasibi.* (Milton Park, New York: Routledge, 2011), and al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhi (b. before 830 /d. between 905 and 910) (for a translation, see Bernd Radtke and John O'Kane*, The Concept of Sainthood in Early Islamic Mysticism: Two Works by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī*. (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1996), 15-36; also see "The Autobiography of al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhi (b. before 830, d. between 905 and 910)", in *Interpreting the Self,* 119-132).

[80] For al-Ghazali, see the "Deliverance from Error" by W. Montgomery Watt in *The Faith and Practice of al-Ghazâlī*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1953. Also see *Al-Ghazali's Path to Sufism: His Deliverance from Error (al-Munqidh min al-Dalal).* Translated by R.J. McCarthy, preface by David Burell, CSC, with an introduction by Willam A. Graham. Louisville: Fons Vitae, 2000. For a translation of two of Ibn ʻArabi's works which contain autobiographical information, see R. W. J. Austin, *Sufis of Andalusia: The Rūḥ al-Quds and al-Durrah al-fākhirah of Ibn ʻArabī.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972 [London: Allen and Unwin, 1971]). For a partial translation of Simnani's autobiography, see "The Autobiography of ʻAlā' al-Dawla al-Simnānī (1261-1336)," in *Interpreting the Self*, pp. 188-193. For a detailed analysis of Simnâni's life and thought, see Jamal Elias, *The Throne Carrier of God: The Life and Thought of ʻAlā' al-Dawla al-Simnānī* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1995). For selections from al-Yûsi's autobiography, see Jacques Berque, *Al-Yousi: Problemes de la culture maroicaine au XVIIeme siècle* (Paris: Mouton, 1958), and in ʻAbd al-Kabīr al-ʻAlawī al-Mudghirī, *Al-Faqīh Abū ʻAlī al-Yūsī: Manūdhaj min al-fikr al-maghribī fī fajr al-dawla al-ʻalawiyya*. (Muhammadiyya, Morocco: Maṭbaʻat Faḍāla, 1989).

[81] See J. A. Mojaddedi, *The Biographical Tradition in Sufism: The Tabaqat Genre from al-Sulami to Jami* (Oxon, New York: Routledge, 2001). Also see Carl W. Ernst, *Eternal Garden: Mysticism, History, and*

quantity of scholarship is the diversity of genres which Sufi autobiographies occupy vis-à-vis the generally more formulaic biographical works. Another contributing factor to this lack of scholarly attention may be the literary elements that Sufi autobiographical writing commonly shares with the biographical notice (*tarjama*), namely, accounts of dreams and visions, minor miracles and virtues:

> These forms (both as traditional sections of a tarjama and as independent works) merit careful study for both the information they contain about Islamic society in different time periods and as the means for representing dimensions of an individual's life. Unfortunately, however, most of them have attracted little scholarly attention because they fall outside the primary lines of modern historical and religious research. It is astonishing how little information is available about the historical development of these forms despite their status as the primary vehicles through which an enormous amount of knowledge about premodern Arabo-Islamic society has come down to us. Literary scholars have rejected them as more properly the realm of historians, and historians have, on the whole, treated them as transparent and unproblematic, deeming the literary conventions either obvious or uninteresting.[82]

Furthermore, a systematic treatment of Ottoman autobiographical writing has yet to be produced. A volume edited by Akyıldız, Kara and Sagaster offers important theoretical directions for rethinking existing paradigms on the nature of autobiographical writing in the broader context of Middle Eastern literature (which I will examine in more detail below).[83] It, however, contains only one case study on a pre-modern Ottoman text, and thus offers no significant engagement of the broader Ottoman literary context. Individual articles, such as the ones written by Terzioğlu and Kafadar, while important contributions to the scholarship on Ottoman autobiography, prioritize the historical over

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Politics at a South Asian Sufi Center (Albany: SUNY Press, 1992) 62-84, and Steinfels, "His Master's Voice," 56-69.

[82] *Interpreting the Self*, 43.

[83] *Autobiographical Themes in Turkish Literature: Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives.* Edited by Olcay Akyildiz, Halim Kara, and Börte Sagaster (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag in Kommission, 2007).

the literary value of their sources.[84]

Studies on pre-modern Arabic autobiographies illuminate the scholarly engagement with the Ottoman literary context. Until the last quarter of the 20th century, much of western scholarship on Arabic autobiographical writings reflected the following two assumptions about differences between European and Muslim notions of the self:

i. Autobiography is a relatively rare occurrence in Arabic literature due to its being a literary prerogative of the modern West and thus inaccessible to “primitive” cultures;

ii. When autobiography does occur in the pre-modern Muslim context, it substantially lacks the “consciousness of the individual value of the uniquely personal” [85]

The pioneering collected volume *Interpreting the Self: Autobiography in the*

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[84] Derin Terzioğlu, “Autobiography in Fragments: Reading Ottoman Personal Miscellanies in the Early Modern Era,” in Akyıldız et al., *Autobiographical Themes,* 83-100; Cemal Kafadar, “Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature,” in *Studia Islamica* 69 (1989): 121-50. A noteworthy exception is the work of Cornell Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: the historian Mustafa Ali* (1541-1600) (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, c1986).

[85] Georges Gusdorf thus argued that autobiography “expresses a concern peculiar to a Western man” that is “not at all universal”. Georges Gusdorf, “Conditions and Limits of Autobiography”. Translated by James Olney, in Olney, ed. *Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 8. Also see Roy Pascal, *Design and Truth in Autobiography* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960), 22; Georges May, *L'Autobiographie* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1979), 17-25. For the perceived lack of Arabic autobiographies in the premodern period, also see Edward Said, *Beginnings* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 81; R. Stephen Humpreys, *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry*, rev. ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 194; Marvin Zonis, “Autobiography and Biography in the Middle East: A Plea for Psychopolitical Studies” in Martin Kramer, ed., *Middle Eastern Lives: The Practice of Biography and Self-Narrative.* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1991, 61) Franz Rosenthal has claimed that when autobiography does occur in the pre-modern Muslim context, it substantially lacks the “consciousness of the individual value of the uniquely personal”. See “Die arabische Autobiographie”, 40.

Arabic Literary Tradition offers the first substantial critique of the earlier Orientalist paradigm embedded in the first assumption above by pointing to a long tradition of Arabic autobiographical writings, dating back to the *sīra* genre.[86] The study's contributors furthermore debunk the claim that autobiography is a uniquely Western phenomenon by demonstrating a medieval Arab 'autobiographical consciousness' in passages that "address the various motivations for such writings, the works of earlier autobiographers and the ethical and religious implication of writing such".[87]

The claim that pre-modern Middle Eastern autobiographies' lack personality or individualism, as suggested by an earlier generation of Western scholars, remains a point of contention among contemporary scholars on autobiography. While Cemal Kafadar describes the author's lack of "self-criticism" in Seyyid Hasan's *Sohbetnāme*[88], Stephen Frederic Dale has demonstrated that at least one Timurid autobiography relays a strong sense of personality.[89] Similarly, while Devin Stewart's study of Ni'matullāh al-Jazā'irī (d. 1702) reveals that some features of autobiographies – such as humor – can be universal across time and space, Kristen Brustad has shown that individualization in the Arabic context is not described in depictions of emotional states of the author as is customary in Western autobiographies, but "through descriptions of situations, actions, as

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86 *Interpreting the Self*, 38-47.

87 *Interpreting the Self*, 31.

88 Kafadar, "Self and Others," 121-50.

89 Stephen Frederic Dale, "Steppe Humanism: The Autobiographical Writings of Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur, 1483-1530," in *IJMES*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (Feb. 1990): 37-58.

well as other actors' emotional states".[91]

Still others have argued that the positivist focus on personality or individualism in autobiographical writings is misplaced. Literary theorist Robert Rowland Smith criticizes such an approach as it "takes autobiography above all as a document of personal history, or 'history of personality', and so places autobiography fairly within an ideology of individualism."[92]

Susanne Enderwitz is another critic of judging Arabic autobiography by the presence or absence of perceived individualism in it. What she proposes instead is a subtle delineation between the "individual" and the "person", rooted in the work of Marcel Mauss and Dale Eickelman[93], via Lawrence Rosen's distinction between an "emphasis on the individual" in Arab-Muslim society and the "western notion of individual*ism*", to a post-modern skepticism towards the notion of the "I" as a "self-contained entity with a self-assured identity capable of reflexive self-expression."[94] Enderwitz thus suggests that:

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[91] See Devin Stewart, "The Humor of the Scholars: The Autobiography of Niʿmat Allāh al-Jazāʾirī (d. 1112/1701)," in *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (1989): 47-81, and Kristen Brustad "Imposing Order: Reading the Conventions of Representation in al-Suyūṭī's Autobiography," *Edebiyāt*: Special Issue – Arabic Autobiography, N.S. 7, no. 2 (1997): 327-44.

[92] Robert Smith, *Derrida and Autobiography* (Cambridge Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 56.

[93] "Individual refers to the mortal human being, the object of observation and self-reflection. Thus individuals can wield considerable power and still not be recognized as playing a significant or legitimate social role. "Person" refers to the cultural concepts that lend social significance to the individual. Personhood can be regarded as a status that varies according to social criteria which contain the capacities of the individual within defined roles and categories. The notion of person... is society's confirmation that an individual's identity has social significance." Quoted in Akyıldız, *Autobiographical Themes*, 39-40. For full text, see Dale Eickelman, "Traditional Islamic Learning and Ideas of the Person in the Twentieth Century," in Kramer, *Middle Eastern Lives*, 37.

[94] Kramer, *Middle Eastern Lives*, 40.

> Arab – and especially classical Arab – autobiography with its stress on the person instead of an inner self, on situations, instead of a coherent life-story, and on social instead of private (not to speak of intimate) relations, comes much closer to postmodern views of “selfhood” than traditional Western autobiographies do.[95]

Enderwitz’s critique of the “impersonal” nature ascribed to Arabic autobiography is an important departure from the Orientalist paradigm of classifying autobiography as a genre that is unique to the West. Although her engagement with theoretical perspectives across disciplinary divides is noteworthy, Enderwitz’s argument lacks a thorough definition of the critical terms she employs (such as, notably, ‘postmodern’).

The complexity of defining “personality” becomes clear when one compares Ismail Hakki’s autobiographical notes in the *Tamāmu’l-feyz* and the *Silsilenāme-yi Celvetiye*. If we construe “personality” in autobiographical writing as the depiction of character development, Hakki’s self-portrait in the *Tamāmu’l-feyz*, which includes a lengthy account of his youthful arrogance and propensity to social discord, appears much more “personal” than his self-narrative in the *Silsilenāme,* which focuses on recounting his visions of prominent Sufis within his order and beyond. These differences can be explained in terms of the differing goals of each treatise: while the *Tamāmu’l-feyz* aims to record the wisdom and teachings of Hakki’s master and establish the basis for his succession to him, the *Silsilenāme* focuses on outlining the Celveti spiritual genealogy (*silsila*) and revealing Hakki’s central place in it. The ways in which these treatises’ different roles influence their author’s self-representation in them necessitates that we look a bit further into how different generic constraints motivate the depiction of the self.

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[95] Akyıldız, *Autobiographical Themes*, 41.

III. Hakki's autobiographical notes and the question of literary genre

In her study of the diaries of Niyāzi Misrī (1618-1694), a controversial and influential Halveti mystic and poet who found himself embroiled in the Sufi-Kadizadeli conflict, Derin Terzioğlu argues against a monolithic category of "autobiography".[96] She questions the notion that autobiographical writing is a strictly self-contained genre distinct from other types of writing and points to a significant number of autobiographies that were compiled as part of other writings, such as those included in dedicatory works for the Sufi master.[97] In order to highlight this diversity, Terzioğlu proposes a typology of Sufi autobiographies, which can be summarized as follows: 1) introspective accounts of Sufi novices; 2) conversion accounts; and 3) visionary diaries written by established Sufi masters.[98] The latter subtypes of Sufi autobiographical writing however are not a significant departure from the main features attributed to Sufi autobiographies in *Interpreting the Self*, whose very approach Terzioğlu seeks to revise.[99]

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[96] Terzioğlu, "Man in the Image of God in the Image of the Times: Sufi Self-Narratives and the Diary of Niyāzī-i Miṣrī (1618-94)," in *Studia Islamica* 94 (2002): 139-65. For more information on Misri, see Terzioğlu's doctoral dissertation, "Sufi and Dissident in the Ottoman Empire: Niyāzī-i Miṣrī (1618-1694)," Harvard University, January 25, 1999.

[97] The example which Terzioğlu provides is that of the Celveti order's founder, Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi, who composed a work containing his conversations with his shaykh, *Kalimāt 'an al-tibru'l-maslūk fī mā cāra beyne hazratu'l-şeyh ve beyne haza'l-fakīr fī esnā'l-sulūk*. Terzioğlu cites the following sources at Süleymaniye Ktph: for Arabic, Hüdayi 249, Hüdayi 250, Esad Efendi 1792, and for partial Turkish translations: Hüdayi 483/3, Düğümlü Baba 372. In Terzioglu's typology, *Kalimāt* falls into the first category, with Hüdayi's diary of his studies under shaykh Üftade – *Vakı'āt* – falling into the second, and his dream diary – *Tecelliyāt* – in the third.

[98] Terzioğlu, "Man in the Image of God," 144-46.

[99] In *Interpreting the Self*, Jamal Elias identifies some of the common characteristics Sufi autobiographical

A typology of autobiographies in the larger Middle East literary context is yet to be produced. The contributors to *Interpreting the Self* explain their reasons for not pursuing such a project in their study of Arabic autobiography:

> Whereas biographers usually accepted the conventions of earlier examples in their own fields, autobiographers found precedents but did not view them as binding formal models. As a result, the corpus of Arabic autobiographies displays a high degree of formal variety and includes a number of highly idiosyncratic texts. Perhaps this was possible precisely because the production of autobiographical texts remained limited in comparison to that of biographies and prosopographical notices. This degree of variation may also explain why the establishment of different categories or types for Arabic autobiographies in the medieval and premodern periods has proved of such limited usefulness. Such decisions group together texts that have few formal similarities and at the same time obscure precedents and influences that cut across the boundaries of these heuristic categories.[100]

Reynolds and his contributors however identify several types of biographical works of which autobiography can be said to be a subgenre: the exemplary life story (*sīra*), the biographical dictionary (*ṭabaqāt*), and the biographical notice (*tarjama*).[101] Reynolds and his contributors nevertheless acknowledge the disadvantage to a genre classification of Middle Eastern autobiographies exclusively through the study of biographies:

> On the one hand, biography provided a literary framework for the emergence of autobiographical literary forms. On the other hand, if the overall project of biography tended to downplay and even exclude "individuality," it is difficult to see how the emergence of autobiography as a literary act can be traced ditectly to the biographical endeavors that preceded it.[102]

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writings share: 1) A central focus of the text is the author's path to spiritual development; 2) The narrative is a model of transformation and development; 3) The culmination of the narrative could be a "conversion" experience of sorts. See *Interpreting the Self*, 47.

[100] *Interpreting the Self*, 59

[101] Ibid., 38-44.

[102] Ibid., 41-42.

A closer look at Hakki's autobiographical notes reveals that they do and do not fit the genre boundaries set by the contributors in *Intepreting the Self*. His self-narrative in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* resembles a *tarjamat al-nafs*, the autobiographical dimension of what the volume defines as the 'biographical notice' (*tarjama*) in providing information about the author's name, ancestry, birth date, and travel and dream accounts. Unlike an entry in a biographical compendium or dictionary, however, Hakki's narrative appears in a work devoted to only one other person, Hakki's master, Osman Fazlı. It furthermore contains no epistles or letters by Hakki, but it features those by his master. What further complicates a possible genre classification of Hakki's self-narrative in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* is that it blurs the first and third person narrative – a characteristic of the *sīra* genre as described by Reynolds and his contributors:

> The two types of sīra, biographical and autobiographical, were not initially distinguished from one another. The genre, as such, consisted of the literary representation of a life as subgenre of history and did not differentiate between first person and third person texts; and as some autobiographical texts were also written in the third person, the texts themselves were at times not formally different.[103]

Finally, Hakki's life story in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* is framed through the author's metaphysical discussion of the Divine breath and the breath of the Sufi master, which, he believes, bestow life on their recipeient, resulting in a second, spiritual birth.[104] Neither the *sīra*, nor the *tarjama* type of autobiographical writing can adequately address the relationship of Hakki's self-narrative to this larger discussion, or the role that the *tarjama*

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[103] *Interpreting the Self*, 39.

[104] I discuss the role that the notions of the breath and the second birth have in Hakki's discourse on authority in Chapter 3.

sub-genre plays in his autobiography.

Hakki's self-narrative in the *Silsilenāme* poses a similar challenge: while it does resemble a *tarjamat al-nafs*, through its inclusion in a work tracing the Celveti *silsila* to Ismail Hakki, its non-linear structure and authorial commentary on social and metaphysical matters is not adequately conveyed by a classification under the *tarjama*-type autobiography.

In order to acknowledge these challenges of genre classification, I have therefore chosen to refer to the written accounts of Hakki's self-narratives in the *Silsilenāme* and *Tamāmu'l-feyz* as 'autobiographical notes', rather than 'autobiographies'. Here, an 'autobiographical note' is defined as a retrospective account of events in the author's life, which is not a standalone literary work but rather one which is included within larger works or *mecmu'a*s. In distinguishing between an autobiography as a self-contained literary work, and an autobiographical note included in a larger work, I seek to highlight the qualitative differences between the two. Autobiographical notes, in this sense, are subject to the larger ideological and rhetorical functions of the work in which they appear – a relationship which points in the direction of a continuous interaction between literary form and content.

IV. Hakki's self-narratives and constructions of authority

As I will demonstrate in the following two chapters, a comparative analysis of Hakki's autobiographical notes with a focus on each text's literary form (as well as

content) reveals important insights about both Hakki himself, and literary genre. To be precise, the account of his life in each work is presented differently: while one text includes and emphasizes certain events, the other only mentions them in passing or omits them entirely. These differences may be attributed to one of two possible reasons: a) the author's changing recollection of events he describes in each work (the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* and the *Silsilenāme* were written nearly thirty years apart), or b) the differing goals of each work, which influence the autobiographical note included in it. While one might attribute the differences between the two accounts of Hakki's life to his variant memories of the events over time. Yet some events, as I will demonstrate in later chapters of this study, are narrated in both works in the exact same wording. Even if the author's memories of certain events changed, establishing this fact solely from his works remains precarious at best. It is more likely that Hakki quoted parts of the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* in the *Silsilenāme* directly, or used his notes of particular events in both works. I therefore argue that the similarities and differences between the two autobiographical accounts need to be viewed with regard to Hakki's role as an intentional author, rather than as a product of perceptual difference.

It is therefore far more profitable to argue that the differences in his self-narrative across the two works reflect the distinct rhetorical goals of each treatise to which the autobiographical note is also subjected. The *Tamāmu'l-feyz*, which Hakki wrote upon the death of his master, Osman Fazlı, aims to record the wisdom of the master and the novice's progression along the Sufi path. In this work, he presents himself as a Sufi novice whose lack of experience frequently gets him into trouble, which he escapes only

by the skin of his teeth, through the sheer grace and wisdom of his master and forms of divine justice that favor Sufis over their critics. The *Silsilenāme*, which Hakki composed thirty years later as an established Sufi master, by contrast, portrays its author as the last link in a long chain of spiritual masters who appear in Hakki's dreams and waking life to affirm his sanctity.

Hakki claims spiritual legitimacy in each of these works, but through differing means. In the *Tamāmu'l-feyz*, Hakki traces his personal progress on the path to shaykhhood under the tutelage of the established and well-respected Celveti Sufi master Osman Fazlı. In the *Silsilenāme*, Hakki, writing as the Celveti Sufi *pīr*, asserts his spiritual legitimacy through a series of accounts of visions that link him to earlier Celveti masters, and famous Sufis, who confirm his superior status in the Sufi hierarchy. In other words, these two texts point to the different sources of religious authority that Hakki envisioned a Sufi of his rank ought to occupy: The first two are (1) the authority derived from the individual affiliation with a recognized Sufi master, (2) the institutional authority derived through membership in a particular Sufi order.

The sources of Hakki's spiritual legitimacy do not end here, however. In autobiographical segments included in his dream diaries and in notes from his brief residence in Damascus, Hakki indicates his special status in the saintly hierarchy as the successor to the most influential Sufi of his time, referred to as the Cosmic Axis (*quṭb*).[105] However, the broader significance of this claim only becomes clear upon a close

[105] Ismail Hakki Bursevi, *Kitāb dürerü'l-'irfāniye*, Istanbul University Rare Book Library, NEKTY 4019, fol. 56b. Hakki literally refers to himself as the "pillar to the left" (*rukn-i yemāni*) of the Black Stone, which stands for the imam on the left side of the axis (*quṭb*) and his successor. For a discussion of Hakki's claims to axial status, see Chapter 5.

examination of Hakki's works dedicated to Ottoman officials (*tuhfe*). In these writings, to which I will now turn, Hakki portrays the Axis and the saintly hierarchy around it as counterparts to the Ottoman sultan and chief officials in the Empire. While titles commonly used in the hierarchy of Sufi orders often borrow from political vocabularies, Hakki goes a step further by suggesting that the Ottoman ruling hierarchy is a projection of God Himself: key Ottoman officials are manifestations of divine names, and corps in the Ottoman army are the embodiment of particular Qur'anic verses. While a cursory look at these conceptualizations of political authority may suggest that they merely legitimize the ruling elite, a comparative reading of the political and saintly hierarchies which Hakki discusses, reveals that the author, ever so subtly, argues for the superior status of the Celestial Axis over any worldly authority. Combining the metaphysical concept of the divine emanation (*feyz-i ilahi*), and notions of sacred history that tie the very origin of the Ottoman state to sultans' close relationship to mystics, Hakki argues for the unparalleled positions of Sufis in Ottoman state and society. In this way, he expands the circle of Sufi authority to also include (3) saints' broader social authority derived from the Ottoman state's historical recognition of and affiliation with Sufis, and (4) spiritual legitimacy they derive from partaking in the saintly hierarchy headed by the Axis, the most important Sufi of the age.

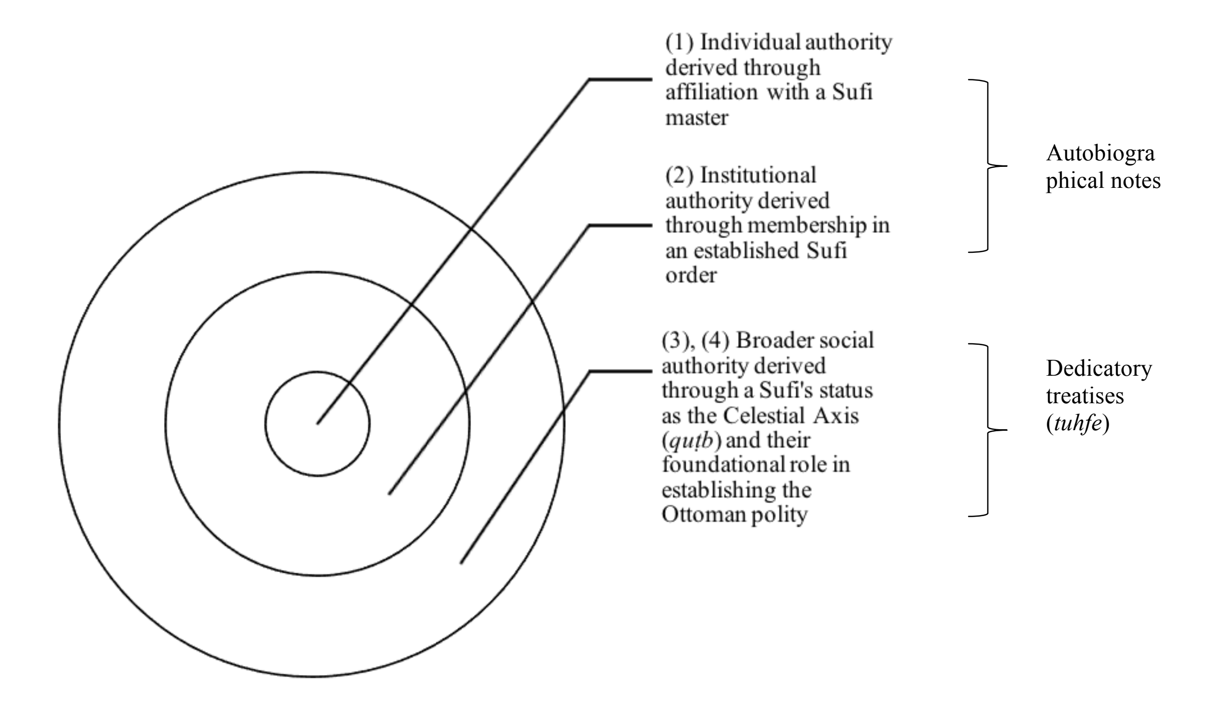


Figure 3. Ismail Hakki's representations of religious authority presented as concentric circles.

One way of visually representing these complementary and not mutually exclusive levels of saintly authority is through concentric circles, beginning with the authority derived through the individual master (in the inner circle), and radiating through the legitimacy received through an affiliation with a Sufi order (in the middle circle), to the broader social powers attained by Sufis as part of their perceived historical relationship to the Ottoman polity, and participation in the hierarchy of saints surrounding the Celestial Axis (*quṭb*) (as the outmost circle).

V. Sufism triumphant: Hakki's writings to officials

Nowhere is Ismail Hakki's vision of the Sufis' broader social authority clearer than in his works dedicated to Ottoman officials. Covering a range of topics, such as the spiritual stations of the vizierate (*Tuhfe-i 'Aliye*), to a presentation of the chief Ottoman political posts as manifestations of divine names (*Tuhfe-i Hasekiye*), to the need to follow a Sufi master (*Tuhfe-i Vesīmiye*), these writings add to our understanding of Hakki's conceptualizations of the junctures of Sufism and the Ottoman polity. While at first glance it may appear that these representations of the Ottoman ruling hierarchy in Sufi metaphysical terms lends legitimacy to officials and the state, I argue that they provide an important dimension to Hakki's self-potrait, albeit indirectly. As I will demonstrate in more detail in Chapter 4, in a number of these writings, Hakki portrays Sufis as counterweights to the power of the sultan, their saintly hierarchy nearly mirroring the hierarchy of Ottoman officialdom. By highlighting the role of Sufism as an inseparable element of the Ottoman state since the latter's very inception, Hakki argues for the broad social significance of Sufis and the negative consequences that befall Ottoman rulers for not heeding the advice of the shaykhs. Furthermore, by claiming for himself the status of an Axis (*quṭb*), Hakki argues for his own superior authority over other Sufis and members of the wider religious elite.[106]

Hakki's dedicatory treatises were not limited only to Ottoman officials; he also prepared such works for members of his family, disciples, and travel companions. All of

[106] Ismail Hakki Bursevi, *Kitābü'n-Netice* I, 90, 97; *Kitābü'n-Netice* II, 67; *Tuhfe-i Vesīmiye*, 136, 164; *Tuhfe-i Hasekiye*, fols. 198b, 259b.; *Tuhfe-i Recebiye*, 221.

these works bear either the title *risāle* (epistle) or *tuhfe* (dedicatory work) and the recipient's name, as their title (e.g., *Tuhfe-i Recebiye*, a work Hakki wrote for Recep Paşa; *Risāle-i Hüseyiniye* for Bahri Hüseyin). A full list of Hakki's known *tuhfe*-works is given below in Figure 4.

Figure 4. A list of Hakki's tuhfe works (arranged in a chronological order):

a. ***Sülūkü'l-mülūk (Tuhfe-i 'Aliye)*** (1121 AH/1709 CE). Hakki wrote this work for the Grand Vizier Çorlulu Ali Paşa. In it he discusses the various spiritual stations of the vizierate (*vezirlik mertebeleri*), the Mahdi (*mehdiyy-i muntazar*), 'Ali's supplication, and the travel prayer.[107]

b. ***Tuhfe-i Recebiye*** (1131 AH/1719 CE). The work is dedicated to the Governor of Damascus, Recep Paşa) and discusses the twelve names of God, central to Celveti doctrine.[108]

c. ***Tuhfe-i Ismailiye*** (1132 AH/1720 CE). This treatise was written at the request of Hakki's travel companion (on the way to Austria and Transylvania as part of the Ottoman military campaigns against the Hapsburgs), Lefkevīzāde Haci Ismail Piyāde. It is a catechism-type book (*ilmihāl*) explaining the principles of Islam.[109]

d. ***Tuhfe-i Halīliye***. Hakki wrote this work for his elder brother, Halil Çelebi (1133 AH/1720 CE). It is a catechism, covering topics on faith, ritual purity, Qur'anic recitation, asceticism, etc. [110]

e. ***Tuhfe-i Atāiye*** (1133 AH/1721 CE). Written at the request of Hakki's follower in Tekirdağ Haci Mehmed Atāi, this treatise covers a number of Sufi topics such as sainthood, prophecy, annihilation in God (*fanā'*), oneness of being, the Celveti order, the cosmic axes (*quṭūb*), Ibn 'Arabi.[111]

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[107] Namlı, *İsmail Hakkı*, 183.

[108] Ibid., 192. For a non-critical edition, see Ismail Hakki, *İlahī isimler (Tuhfe-i Recebiye)*, Edited by Selim Çakıroğlu (Cağaloğlu, Istanbul: Sufi Kitap, 2008), and Zübeyir Akçe, "İsmail Hakkı Bursevi'nin *Tuhfe-i Recebiyye* Adlı Eseri (İnceleme- Metin)," Ph.D. diss., Harran University, 2008.

[109] *İsmail Hakkı*, 194.

[110] Ibid., 195.

[111] Ibid. For a non-critical edition, see *Ismail Hakkı Bursevi: Kābe ve insan (Tuhfe-i Atāiye).* Prepared by Akkaya, Veysel (Istanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2000).

f. ***Kitābü'S-Sülūk (Tuhfe-i Vesīmiye)*** (1133 AH/1721 CE). Hakki wrote the work for the Palace Eunuch Seyyid Ahmed Vesīm Aga, upon the latter's request. The treatise deals with the process of initiation in a Sufi order, *dhikr*, etiquette in the order, and other topics.[112]

g. ***Tuhfe-i Bahriye*** (1133 AH/1721 CE). The treatise is dedicated to the Superintendant of the Imperial Gardens (*hasbahçeler müfettişi*) Bahri Hüseyin Efendi, who was a follower of Hakki. It deals with topics such as God's unicity (*tawḥīd*) among others.[113]

h. ***Risāle-i Hüseyniye*** (1133 AH/1721 CE). A second treatise which Hakki dedicated to Bahri Hüseyin. It deals with the name Hüseyin and a discussion of its significance in Sufi metaphysics.[114]

i. ***Tuhfe-i Hasekiye*** (1134 AH/1722 CE). A work dedicated to Tûbāzāde Mehmed Ağa, Chief Bodyguard of the Sultan (*serhaseki*). The treatise features sections on God's unicity, Islamic prophets, and an exposition of some of the main Ottoman imperial offices, which are presented in the work as manifestations of certain divine names.[115]

j. ***Risāle-i Bahāiye*** (1134 AH/1722 CE). A treatise Hakki wrote for his son Bahāeddin Muhammed, on Celveti ideology, the names of God, and prayers, among other topics.[116]

k. ***Tuhfe-i Ömeriye*** (1134 AH/1722 CE). A treatise Hakki dedicated to his disciple Derviş Ömer Nevāli. It deals with topics such as sainthood, prophecy, belief, and *dhikr*.[117]

l. ***Tuhfe-i Şeybiye***. (Lost)[118]

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[112] *İsmail Hakkı*, 197. For a non-critical edition, see Seyda Öztürk, ed., *Üç Tuhfe/Seyr-i Sülūk* (Istanbul 2000).

[113] *İsmail Hakkı*, 198.

[114] Ibid.

[115] Ibid., 200.

[116] Ibid.

[117] Ibid., 201. See also Öztürk, *Üç Tuhfe*.

[118] *İsmail Hakkı*, 209.

m. ***Risāle-i Hayriye***. (Lost)[119]

As one can notice from the above list of Hakki's dedicatory works, they contain considerable variation in terms of their dedicatees as well as their contents. This has prompted scholars to hesitate in classifying the above writings under one particular genre, be that advice literature (*nasīhat*) or political writing (*siyasetname*).[120] It is my contention that an outright dismissal of Hakki's works dedicated to Ottoman officials from the category of advice writing carries the risk of detaching one of the most prolific Ottoman authors of all time from the well-established Arabic and Persian literary tradition. Contrary to that, I propose a more thorough evaluation of the advantages and disadvantages of situating Hakki's dedicatory works to Ottoman statesmen in this genre, with a view to what either approach can yield for his notions of religious authority. Before I engage in such an assessment, I will briefly outline the origins of advice writing as a literary genre.

VI. Advice literature in the Islamic intellectual tradition

Literature of advice (*naṣīḥāt*) had an established place in the Near Eastern literary context since Antiquity. Frequently, it manifested itself as a testament (Arabic: *waṣiyya*)

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[119] Ibid.

[120] See Ziya Kazıcı, "Ismail Hakki Bursavi'ye göre Osmanlı Müessesleri," in *Marmara Üniversitesi Ilahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, Vol. 7, Issue 9 (1989), 208.

given by an elder to his successors or by a father to his son.[121] C.E. Bosworth defines the Islamicate genre of advice for kings as a

> genre of pre-modern Islamic literature which consists of advice to rulers and their executives on politics and statecraft (*siyāsa* or *tadbīr al-mulūk*); the ruler's comportment towards God and towards the subjects or *raʿiyya* whom God has entrusted to his charge; the conduct of warfare, diplomacy and espionage; etc.[122]

The goal of these works – dubbed "mirrors for princes" borrowing from European history – was to serve as a mirror in which the ruler would see himself and strive to improve his appearance.[123]

Such advice literature has both Islamic and non-Islamic roots, with the latter stemming from Persian bureaucratic culture and Classical Greek and Hellenistic philosophy.[124] The earliest preserved such work in Arabic dates back to the reign of Caliph Hisham (724-43), being a series of epistles containing advice given by Aristotle to Alexander. After the ʻAbbasid revolution, Persian advice works – characterized by their significant use of aphorisms, proverbs, and historical anecdotes –increased in circulation. Most notable among these early "mirror for princes" are Ibn al-Muqaffaʻ's translation of the Indian animal fables titled *Kalila wa Dimna*, as well his own advice works *Adab al-kabīr* dealing with the behavior of the ideal ruler and his courtiers, the *Yatīma,* and the

[121] See Patricia Crone, *God's Rule. Government and Islam: Six Centuries of Medieval Islamic Political Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 149.

[122] C.E. Bosworth, "Naṣīḥāt al-mulūk," in *EI*^{2}.

[123] Crone, *God's Rule*, 149.

[124] Bosworth, "Naṣīḥāt".

Risāla fī al-Ṣahāba, considered to be the first documented elaboration of the Islamic polity.[125]

The genre subsequently developed as part of Arabic works on ethics and proper manners (*adab)* which included elements of advice on the ethics of rulership.[126] According to Bosworth, the Persian-Islamic fusion in the "mirror for princes" genre took place in the twelfth century with al-Ghazāli's *Naṣīḥatu'l-mulūk*, a Persian-language treatise on the religious ideals required of a devout ruler and on practical questions of governance for a Seljuk prince.[127] Al-Ghazāli's work is significant for the purposes of this study as it emphasizes the inseparability between a ruler's justice and religiosity, and highlights the centrality of religious scholars to insure against the emergence of a tyrannical despot. In the first part of the *Naṣīḥatu'l-mulūk*, for example, al-Ghazāli points out that a just sultan is the most beloved person to God, and a tyrant the most pernicious one, whom the most grueling torments await in the Afterlife:

> The ruler should first of all understand the importance and also the danger of the authority entrusted to him. In authority there is great blessing since he who exercises at righteously obtains unsurpassed happiness; but if any ruler fails to do so he incurs torments unsurpassed only by the torment for unbelief. The proof of the importance of this blessing is that God apostle said, 'One day of just roll by

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[125] See Crone, *God's Rule*, 151. Also C.E. Bosworth, "The Persian impact on Arabic literature", in *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 488, and Najm al-Din Yousefi, "Islam without Fuqahā': Ibn al-Muqaffa' and His Perso-Islamic Solution to the Caliphate's Crisis of Legitimacy (70-142 AH/690-760 CE)," in *Iranian Studies*, published online Sept. 2015 by Iranian Studies (forthcoming in print, vol. 50, March 2017).

[126] Bosworth, "Naṣīḥāt".

[127] Although it has been attributed to al-Ghazali, the second part of the treatise is most likely the work of a Persian author of a generation or so later. See Crone, Patricia. "Did al-Ghazālī write a Mirror for Princes? On the authorship of Naṣīḥat al-mulūk," in *JSAI*, x [1987], 167-91. Also see Omid Safi, *The Politics of Knowledge in Premodern Islam: Negotiating Ideology and Religious Inquiry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 115-117.

> an equitable sultan is more meritorious than sixty years of continuous worship.' He also stated on that Resurrection day no shade or shelter will remain except the shade and shelter of the true God on High. [In this] shade will be seven persons: (i) the just Sulṭān, (ii) the young man who grows up in the worship of God, (iii) the man who lives in the bazaar but whose heart is in the mosque, (iv) to man who make friends with each other for God's sake, (v) the man from whose eyes tears rain down when he remembers God and is alone, (vi) the man who sought after by a beautiful and wealthy woman but tells her 'I fear God,' and (vii) the man who gives charity with his right hand in such a way that he's left hand does not know of it. The Apostle declared that the man dearest to God on High is the just Sulṭān and that the man who is most hateful and contemptible in the side of the true God is the unjust Sulṭān. He also stated: 'By God, in the hand of Whose power lies Muḥammad's soul, all actions of the just Sulṭān affecting his subjects are carried to heaven every day; and each prayer of his is worth seventy thousand prayers.' Such being the case there's no greater blessing than God's grant to a person of the office of ruler and Sulṭān, whereby one hour of his life is raised to be equivalent to the whole life of any other person; but if he shows no appreciation of this blessing and gives himself over to tyranny and passion, there's a terrible risk that God on High will count him an enemy.[128]

Throughout the work, the reader repeatedly encounters the notion that the sultanate owes its power entirely to the will of God: a humbling idea that al-Ghazāli frequently reminds to the ruler he advises. Since all authority ultimately rests with God, one can conclude, it is Him that is the ruler, in the final consideration.[129]

The notion of God's position as the ultimate ruler is not a unique point to al-Ghazāli, but a concept imbedded in Muslim scriptural sources as well. In her analysis of the latter, Crone states that

> God rules in the most literal sense of the word, appointing rulers, governors, judges and deputies and ordering armies to be sent against insubordinate subjects[…] Without recognition of God's sole government there could be no proper relations among people, only tyranny or anarchy, with all the bloodshed, arbitrariness, and immorality that both implied.[130]

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[128] Al-Ghazāli, *Ghazālī's book of Counsel for kings (Nasīhat al-mulūk).* Translated by F.R.C. Bagley (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 14.

[129] For Safi's analysis of this concept, see *Politics of Knowledge*, 118.

[130] *God's Rule*, 6-7.

Religious scholars play an important part in maintaining just rule. Sultans' exposure to power places them at risk of moral corruption, al-Ghazāli writes, but by staying close to "religious scholars who keep the faith" – to borrow Safi's translation of *'ulamā'-yi dīn-dār* – rulers can avoid tyranny, and commit to justice.[131]

The fragility of rulers' morality became a center piece of Ottoman advice literature, whose major motif was the polarity of order and disorder.[132] Most notable in this respect is Mustafa 'Ali's (1541-1600) *Nushatü's-selātin* (1581), a "mirror for princes" that 'Ali dedicated to Sultan Murād III (r. 1574-95), which references contemporary events and individuals and offers a scathing critique of the prevailing injustice and corruption among Ottoman officials.[133] Earlier better-known examples of Ottoman advice works are that of Grand Vezir Lutfi Pasha's (d. 1562-63) *Asafname*, which deals with the principles of administration as well as court etiquette; and his contemporary, Kınalızāde 'Ali Çelebi's (1510–1572) *Ahlak-i Ala'i* (1564), an adaptation of Davāni's *Akhlāq-i Celāli* in which he cites scholars like al-Ṭūsi and al-Ghazāli, al-Kindi, and al-Fārābi as well as caliphs, rulers and religious figures in addition to Aristotle and Socrates the works of Koçi Bey Kātib Çelebi and Na'īma, as well as the anonymous author of *Kitāb-i Müstetab*.[134]

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[131] *Politics of Knowledge*, 118.

[132] Douglas Howard, "Genre and myth in the Ottoman advice for kings literature," in *The Early Modern Ottomans. Remapping Empire*. Edited by Virginia Aksan and Daniel Goffman, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 140.

[133] See Fleischer, Cornell. *Bureaucrat and intellectual in the Ottoman Empire. The historian Mustafa 'Āli (1541-1600)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 95-99.

[134] Fleischer, "Mustafā 'Ālī's curious bits of wisdom," in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des*

The emergence of advice literature written in Ottoman Turkish played an important role in reinforcing Ottoman dynastic policy:

> Language was a metonym of the dynasty: as Ottoman Turkish stood as the equal of Arabic and Persian, as it artfully synthesized these three great Islamic languages, so did the Ottoman dynasty stand as the equal of the great Islamic dynasties of the past and present, and so was Ottoman civilization the summation of all of Islamic history and Islamic civilization.[135]

Despite advice works' ubiquity and the genre's centrality to bolstering Ottoman imperial claims in the region, the literary dimensions of Ottoman "mirrors for princes" have evaded scholarly attention. According to Douglas Howard, "modern historians have misunderstood and underestimated the generic features of the Ottoman advice for kings literature, and have not recognized Ottoman authors' manipulation of readers' generic expectations toward literary and artistic ends".[136] A characteristic feature of Ottoman works of advice is a discourse on decline:

> By the time the Ottoman Empire attained its classical form in the sixteenth century, advice to rulers had long been an established theme of polite letters in the Islamic world. Ottoman treatises on statecraft, however, took on a distinctive character which set them apart from their generic predecessors. Born in the sixteenth century, the Ottoman nasihatname flourished in the hands of such authors as Koçi Beg, Kātib Çelebi, Nā'ima, and other intellectuals who sought at once to analyze the causes of what they apparently perceived as a decline of the imperial system, and to prescribe remedies for the ills of the state. Despite variations in style and organizations, exemplars of this "literature of reform" share certain characteristics. They usually define administrative and social ideals by depicting the present as a period of decline from a "classical", (or, more properly, classicized) standard assumed to have been in effect during a "Golden Age." The nasihat writers saw the solution of present problems in restoration of the idealized practice of the past. Even so, the focus of these works is practical

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Morgenlandes 76 (1986), 103-09; Murphey, Rhoads, "The Veliyyuddin Telhis. Notes on the sources and interrelations between Koçi Bey and contemporary writers of advice to kings", in *Belleten* 43 (1979), 547-71.

[135] Howard, "Genre and myth," 139.

[136] "Genre and myth," 147.

> and contemporary. Where earlier advice literature used aphorism and didactic tales of ancient kings, the nasihatname cites current examples of institutional failure, injustice, and social disruption.[137]

As authors of Ottoman advice works bemoaned the loss of an imagined Golden Age when sultans were just and pious, their notion of decline was taken by modern historians to reflect not a literary topos but a historical reality. Howard explains that this phenomenon was the unintended outcome of 'genre confusion', whereby Ottoman historians interpreted *nasīhatname*s' nostalghia over what their authors perceived to have been a golden past as historically accurate archival sources:

> The *nasihatnames* were alluring for historiography because they formed a thematic (non-narrative) genre in which the imagery of disorder that they typically employ is analogous to the imagery of disintegration that dominates decline aspects of narrative historiographical plots.[138]

Howard offers an important critique of this 'genre confusion': a phenomenon caused by what he claims to be the "displacement onto the genre of historiography of the universal lifecycle myths of death and regeneration". I would like to take another approach to the study of Ottoman advice works, by arguing for the expansion of generic boundaries. Without reinforcing the 'genre confusion' that Howard strives to dismantle, I propose that we consider the possibility of genre pluralism in Ottoman advice literature, by opening the definition of what constitutes a 'work of advice'. To do so, I turn to Ismail Hakki's *tuhfe*s and the question of whether they belong in the category of advice writing.

As briefly mentioned above, the classification of Hakki's *tuhfe* as works of advice

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[137] Cornell Fleischer, "From Şeyhzade Korkut to Mustafa Āli: Cultural Origins of the Ottoman Nasihatname," in *IIIrd Congress on the Social and Economic History of Turkey: Princeton University, 24-26 August 1983*, 67.

[138] "Genre and myth," 147.

cannot be made without reservations. Hakki wrote the abovementioned works with this title as gifts to friends, family, and followers. A number of Hakki's *tuhfe* recipients were not statesmen, and a number of the topics that the works covered lay outside what may be narrowly construed as the realm of political advice, or even advice in general. Due to these features of Hakki's *tuhfes*, they can be said to transcend the *nasīhat* genre.[139]

Categorizing Hakki's *tuhfes* as works of advice, however, can have important and beneficial implications for the advice literature genre by highlighting the diverse literary forms in which such advice was dispensed. In his study of al-Yūsī (d. 1691) and Mawlay Ismā'il (1672-1727),[140] Abdelfattah Kilito argues that when addressing a ruler, a religious scholar would only speak when assured that he would receive a favorable response and that his exhortation to good deeds would not provoke civil unrest (*fitna*).[141] To this end the scholar could employ a number of techniques, such as remaining silent, emphasizing his detachment from the discourse by placing himself behind the great authorities of the past, or balancing his criticism with praise of the addressee, or prayers on his behalf.[142] Focusing specifically on al-Yūsī's rhetoric, Kilito's analysis demonstrates the ways in which authors of advice texts use stylistic devices to impart moral counsel to their patrons. As I will demonstrate in Chapter 4, Hakki's admonishments to Ottoman officials are also presented indirectly, through a reference to an expansive metaphysical system.

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[139] Merve Tabur, "Ismail Hakki Bursevi and the politics of balance," (Master's Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2011), 61, 219.

[140] Kilito, Abdelfattah. "Speaking to Princes: Al-Yusi and Mawlay Isma'il" in Rahma Bourqia and Susan Gilson Miller (eds.), *In the Shadow of the Sultan: Culture, Power and Politics in Morocco* (Cambridge: Harvard Center for Middle Eastern Studies, 1999) 30-46.

[141] Kilito, *Speaking*, 37.

[142] *Speaking*, 40-41.

Despite the absence of strictly political advice, *Tuhfe-i ‘Aliye*, *Tuhfe-i Hasekiye*, and *Tuhfe-i Vesīmiye* abound with ethical guidelines on the religious duties and social responsibilities of Ottoman statesmen. *Tuhfe-i Hasekiye*, for example, describes the functions of the important officials in the Empire as manifestations of divine names. *Tuhfe-i ‘Aliye* engages in a similar fashion the position of the Grand Vizier through a discussion of the spiritual stations (*martaba*) of the vizierate. Hakki's use of metaphysics and allusions, along with apt Qur'anic and Hadith quotations does not make his *tuhfe* works less authentic representations of the *nasihāt* genre; on the contrary, they challenge the existing generic boundaries and encourage a broader definition of advice literature that accounts for the rhetorical significance of issuing political commentary through metaphysical notions.

> The fact that a work "disobeys" its genre does not mean that the genre does not exist. It is tempting to say "quite the contrary," for two reasons. First, because, in order to exist as such, the transgression requires a law – precisely the one that is to be violated. We might go even further and observe that the norm becomes visible – comes into existence – owing only to its transgressions. Blanchot himself says as much: "If it is true that Joyce shatters the novelistic form by making it aberrant, he also hints that this form perhaps lives only through its alterations. …One has to think that every time, in these exceptional works where a limit is reached, the exception alone is what reveals to us that 'law' of which it also constitutes the unexpected and necessary deviation." [143]

Classifying Hakki's *tuhfe* works as belonging to the advice literature genre does not challenge the existence of the "mirror for princes" genre as such. Rather, it highlights the centrality that notions of power have to these works' rhetoric in general, and the significance of the Ottoman state to the author's ideas of religious and political authority in particular. Classifying these "aberrant" examples of advice for kings as belonging to

[143] Tsvetan Todorov, *Genres in Discourse* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 14.

the larger literary genre of advice writing underscores the existence of a discourse which Hakki's *tuhfe* works engage in, a discourse which shapes notions of political as well as religious authority and how each one of those is represented or challenged by the author.

VII. Conclusion

Debates surrounding genre classification may at a first glance appear as a trivial scholarly attachment to outdated terms or inflexible categories. The present study instead argues that questions of genre are crucial to situating a work in its larger literary and historical context and enabling its more targeted scholarly treatment in a comparative setting.

My argument here has aimed to highlight two major points. First, both Hakki's autobiographical notes and his dedicatory works pose challenges to clear-cut genre boundaries. Despite these challenges, highlighting the features they share with established literary genres is helpful for situating Hakki's works in the larger Islamic intellectual tradition in general, and addressing the gap in the scholarship on Ottoman Sufism in particular. Second, Hakki's differing self-image in his autobiographical notes on the one hand, and advice works to officials, on the other, provides complementary perspectives on his notions of religious authority: both self-representations highlight the relationship of the individual Sufi to his master, order, and larger social and political structures, but each differs in emphasis. Hakki's autobiographical notes are not only about his life-narrative: they are also a part of a discourse on religious orthodoxy at a

time when the latter was heavily contested by groups vying for power, within and beyond the Celveti order. Similarly, his works addressed or dedicated to officials do not merely legitimize the existing Ottoman political order; they also provide commentary on the relationship between the political and religious elite, and emphasize the superior authority of the Sufi in general, and Hakki as the preeminent Celveti shaykh in particular.

CHAPTER 3.

A TALE OF TWO BIRTHS: THE SUFI AND HIS MASTER

The master's miracles are told by the master himself.[144]

(Turkish proverb)

I. Introduction

> Know that this wretch's father, Mustafa, was born in the Ak-Saray neighborhood in Istanbul. Overwhelmed by the notorious fire [of 1652] which destroyed his belongings (*esās*) and furniture (*rāhtlari*), Mustafa left and moved to the small town of Aytos. It was there that my master, the lord of the divine axes (*sayyīdu'l-aqṭāb*[145]), Osman Fazlı had succeed the aforementioned [Zākirzāde Efendi].
>
> One day during the respected master's residency there, this wretch set foot on the terrace of his being (*mastaba-yi vücūdihi*). I was three when my father brought me to the master to kiss his hand. Because of this, he would sometimes say, "You have been our disciple since the age of three."[146]

In the above excerpt from the *Silsilenāme-yi Celvetiye*, a biographical work on the Celveti Sufi order written in Ottoman Turkish, Ismail Hakki, the author, recounts his first encounter with the Celveti Sufi master Osman Fazlı Atpazarı (d. 1691), whom he would eventually succeed as the head of the order. The account above is found in the beginning of Hakki's autobiographical entry in the *Silsilenāme*, a biographical work tracing the spiritual genealogy (*silsila*) of the Celveti Sufi order. The information we learn about

[144] In Turkish, "şeyhin kerameti kendinden menkul."

[145] I discuss the significance of this notion to Hakki's cosmology in Chaper 5.

[146] *Kitāb Silsilenāme-yi Celvetiye*, Princeton University Rare Book Collection, Islamic Manuscripts, New Series No. 1144, fols. 81b-81a.

Ismail's family from this excerpt is minimal: He was born in Aytos[147] after his father moved there following a fire that devastated Istanbul in 1652 C.E. Information about his family and master is also scant: The only thing we are told about Osman Fazlı is that he had succeeded the previous Celveti shaykh in Aytos.

Hakki provides an account of his family background and early childhood in another work, entitled the *Tamāmu'l-feyz fī bābi'l-ricāl,* (*The Perfection of [divine] emanation in the domain of man*) which he composed nearly thirty years prior to writing the *Silsilenāme*. The *Tamāmu'l-feyz* is an Arabic work dedicated to the life and sayings of Osman Fazlı. The narrative about Hakki and Fazlı's early encounters found in this treatise is as follows:

> [Hakki's] father was [named] Mustafa and he lived in the Aḳsaray neighborhood of Istanbul until a big fire occurred and destroyed his home and belongings. He then moved from there to the aforementioned village [of Aytos] since he had some connections with the locals. After he settled there, I was born.
>
> My father and elder brother, Ibrahim, not only have a good familiarity with the master, but they had such a close companionship with him that they would regularly go to the prayer hall to throw darts with him.
>
> When I was three years old, my father started bringing me to the master, who would pat and tease me. Then one day the master – may God sanctify his soul – said, "You are the eldest of my children and the foremost of my disciples and successors, and I have known you since you were three when you came under my care". And I [Hakki] say: "He knew me since my childhood."[148]

Comparing the two excerpts, we see different representations of Hakki's first encounter with his master. While the two sources are consistent about the age of Ismail at

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[147] Present day Aytos, Bulgaria.

[148] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (B), 79.

the time of his meeting with Fazlı, they portray the acquaintance between Ismail's family and Fazlı differently. To be precise, the narrative in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* portrays an intimate friendship between Hakki's father and brother, on the one hand, and Osman Fazlı, on the other, by referring to the informal games in which they engaged. The *Silsilenāme*, by contrast, presents a much less detailed image; it notes the author's early affiliation with the master, but refrains from further details about the nature of the relationship.

The differences between the two self-narratives do not stop there. The ways in which the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* and the *Silsilenāme* depict Hakki differ in both content and form: while one source may emphasize a certain event in the author's life, the other may mention it only briefly or omit it altogether; where one autobiographical note is interlaced with lines of poetry in Persian and Arabic by well-known poets, the other features panegyric poems written by Hakki in Ottoman Turkish. Furthermore, the variations of each text's narrative time – defined as the sequence of events in the narrative as opposed to their order in the story (*story time*) – signal the distinct rhetorical goals of each autobiographical note. In his autobiographical note in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz*, Hakki lays claim to spiritual authority based on his affiliation with his master and head of the Celveti order, Osman Fazlı. The work presents an introspective autobiographical account of the young Ismail's progression on the Sufi path and the worldly and otherworldly obstacles that he overcomes thanks to the wisdom of his master and the divine justice that favors Hakki over his enemies.[149] This image of the favored disciple and Fazlı's spiritual heir is

[149] In that way, the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* resembles the *malfuzat* genre tradition in South Asian literature. See

further buttressed through Hakki's conceptualization of his own life story within the metaphysical framework of the divine breath and death before dying. Accounts of Hakki's dreams, in which prophets and influential Sufis attest to his progress on the Sufi path and predict his future success, provide further indications of his superior status in the hierarchy of Sufi learning.

By contrast, Hakki's autobiographical account in the *Silsilenāme*, as I will demonstrate in Chapter 3, only features events that highlight Hakki's role as a link in a long chain of important Celveti Sufis. These Sufis emphasize the author's institutional identity as a member of a group that transcends spatial and temporal boundaries – a role that also establishes Hakki as the authoritative Celveti master of his time.

The differences between these two cases of autobiographical writing about the same individual point to the need to examine the literary and ideological dimensions of each work. As I demonstrated in Chapter 1, existing studies of Hakki's autobiographical notes have imposed an artificial separation between form and content in the interest of recreating the historical Hakki, thereby neglecting him as a creative producer of literary works. In a departure from this approach, the current study explores the ways in which literary form and content interact to produce polyvalent representations of the social and political role of the Sufi across Hakki's autobiographical notes in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* and the *Silsilenāme.* As I will demonstrate in the present chapter, when Hakki's autobiographical notes are examined from a literary perspective, they offer important

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Amina Steinfels, "His Master's Voice: The Genre of Malfūẓāt in South Asian Sufism" in *History of Religions*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (August 2004): 56-69.

insights into the different sources of religious authority that he envisioned for Sufis. I will specifically focus on how Hakki redefines and deploys the religious institutions of the Sufi master (*shaykh*), order (*tariqa*), and most important Sufi of the age, the Cosmic Axis (*quṭb*), to assert his religious authority over other members of the religious elite and comment on the broader roles of Sufis in Ottomans society.

II. The *Tamāmu'l-feyz*: An overview

Hakki completed the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* in 1691, the year of his master's death. It is an Arabic work that contains 17 chapters, and it was likely intended for a wider audience among the Arabic-reading elite, with whom we can assume Hakki had extensive contacts from his travels to the Levant, Egypt, and the Holy Cities. It is also likely that Hakki wrote his autobiography in Arabic in an effort to situate his work and life within the well-established tradition of Arabic biographical and autobiographical writing.

In terms of content, the first seven chapters of the work explore typical Sufi topics, such as the paths to the Real, the benefit of the Sufi path, instructions on the practice of *dhikr*, Sufi attire, as well as more specific topics pertaining to his order, such as the *silsila* of the Celveti order and a concise treatment of central topics in Ibn 'Arabi's metaphysics. The remaining ten chapters are dedicated to Hakki's master, the Celveti shaykh Osman Fazlı. Chapters 8 through 16 depict the master's early education, move to Istanbul, progression on the Sufi path, miracles, relationships to the ruling elite, and his death. In chapters 16 and 17, Hakki presents the story of his own affiliation (*intisāb*) with Osman Fazlı and notes from various personal conversations with Fazlı. It is in these last

two chapters that Hakki provides more detailed information about his own life than in any of his other works. Chapter 16 thus includes a detailed account of his education and training under various teachers prior to studying with Fazlı as well as accounts of dreams and visions in which the author communicates with and receives inspiration from prophets and Sufis (*awliya*). Chapter 17 contains records of conversations between Hakki and his master over the span of fifteen years.

The amount of space that the author devotes to the details surrounding his own life (one chapter) is significantly smaller than that dedicated to his master (eight chapters). Hakki's autobiographical note is a part of a larger narrative about Osman Fazlı's intellectual life and the central role that he played in his disciple's development, and the close relationship the two shared. The narrative, as I will demonstrate shortly, also includes the names of specific teachers and books, and the locations in which Hakki became acquainted with them, as well as dreams and visions in which he converses with prophets and major Sufi saints. The autobiographical note additionally presents the author's frustrations with members of local religious elites, his anxieties about moving his family from one town to another, and reflections on preaching and teaching.

III. The notion of "two births" and moving along the Sufi path

Hakki's self-narrative in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* is organized around two central and interconnected metaphysical notions: breath and birth. As I will demonstrate below, the two concepts play a critical role in Hakki's self-representation in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* As a

Sufi novice, he derives spiritual legitimacy from the Breath of Guidance that his master breathes into him. This event leads to his subsequent "second birth" as a spiritually elevated Sufi and eventually to his becoming a Celveti Sufi master.

The autobiographical section in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* opens with a discussion of how matter comes to exist in the universe. It frames the narrative of Hakki's own life story, giving a metaphysical significance to his bodily existence. At the junction of these two realms of existence (or two dimensions of being) lies the notion of the breath (*nefes,* Arabic: *nafas*).

> Know that all the primordial matter (*hayūlā*) of the world is corporeal (*jismāniya*) and incorporeal (*ruhāniya*). It is the [primordial matter which takes the form of the] Breath of the Merciful and the disclosure of being (*al-tajalli al-wujūdi*) that is individuated into the existing entities (*a'yān mawjuda*), as is the primordial matter which takes the forms of the letters, words, and speech that is the human breath extending over those forms. If it were not for this breath, their nobility [of those forms] would not be in the world of potentiality (*'ālam al-imkān*). God created His heavens and earth as loci for the manifestation of this precious breath. Their nobility places them at the head of every leader. Do you not see that He created the rulers over the spirits and that He appointed the Spirit of Holiness (*rūḥu'l-quds*) as a ruler for them? So just as bodies are endowed with life by the human spirit (*al-rūḥ al-insāni*), so are spirits enlivened by the Spirit of Holiness of God[150] which needs the mediation (*wisāṭa*) of blowing (*nafkh*) this Spirit into the existing life (*al-ḥayat al-ḥakīkiye al-ḥakkāniye*).[151]

The above paragraph neatly illustrates how the author conceives of the process of existentiation (*ta'ayyun*). The Breath of the Merciful serves as the vehicle for the creation of individual entities (*a'yān*) out of God's being as the human breath brings into the world words and phrases. Hakki further explains this process of creation by analyzing Jesus's miraculous conception:

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[150] Al-rūḥ al-qudsi al-raḥmāni in *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (A), 374.

[151] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (B), 77.

> When the Almighty wanted to entify the Divine Spirit (*rūḥ Allah*)[152], He ordered the Spirit of Holiness to enter into Mary's nose. It spread into her womb so it would become an entity (*takūnu 'aynen*). If you so wish, you may call it a "spirit" (*rūḥ*) due to the subtlety (*laṭīfa*) of its substance (*jawhar*) and the expansion (*basāṭa*) of its primordial matter. So examine the womb that accepts the emanation of the spirit (*feyzu'r-rūḥ*) just like the pure soil accepts the torrent of the raincloud so it passed through it and it comes to life [...][153]

The notion of entification (*ta'ayyun*) is crucial to Hakki's understanding of the process of creation, as indicated in the above passage. For an entity to come into being in the process of his or her "first birth", the Spirit of Holiness (*rūhu'l-quds*) needs to find a receptive locus, which in the conception of Jesus was Mary's womb. The significance of this act of breathing to Hakki's metaphysics is indicated in a couplet by Hafez that Hakki quotes following the above passage:

> Therefore, the inheritance of the Spirit of God is the secret of life and the secret of the breath, and the breath(ing) [of life into the body] (*nafkh*).
>
> For this reason, Hafez said:
>
> *Assisted by the emanation of the Holy Spirit*
>
> *Others can do what the Messiah did*.[154]

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[152] Ibid.

[153] Ibid.

[154] The poem is only available in the Syrian edition of the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (B), 77 but missing in the Lebanese edition (*Tamāmu'l-feyz* (A)). Arberry's translation is as follows:

And if the Holy Ghost descends

In grace and power infinite

His comfort in these days to lend

To them that humbly wait on it,

Theirs too the wondrous works can be

That Jesus wrought in Galilee.

(Hafez, *Divan*, translated by A.J. Arberry (Cambridge: University Press, 1947), 99.)

The author's agreement with Hafez is indicated in the very next sentence, in which he offers commentary to the couplet:

> And he was correct about that. So the statement about the emanation, accepting it, and the appearance of the effect of that emanation, is the second birth, just as Jesus said, "He who has not been born twice will not enter the Heavenly Kingdom." (John 3:4) [155]

In this paragraph, Hakki also transitions to an elaboration of what constitutes the "second birth". He differentiates between being born in a corporeal fashion (the "first birth"), and a second, incorporeal one. The "first birth" is the coming into being of an imperfect human being, who is subsequently perfected in the course of his "second birth":

> In the first – corporeal birth – one passes through the forms of the Heavens, its exteriors, the forms of the elements, and the forms of the infants, so that one is individuated first as a drop of sperm, then a fertilized egg, and finally, as an embryo. This is to say that entification (*ta'ayyun*) occurs in each phase of development according to its form. So when the creation is completed in the womb, God breathes out the Spirit as when He said, "Then I blew some of my Spirit into him."[156] And this expression is about the entification of the spirit and its appearance like the appearance of fire from darkness. And it is referred to as breathing for the purpose of comprehension because people understand the latter. The mind (*'aql*), however, is incapable of perceiving it. [157]
>
> Thus one is completed as a human but is veiled in the garment of humanity, which is the garment of this form (*ṣūra*). Thus one is far from the goal notwithstanding one's proximity to it.
>
> In the second birth, the garments (*melābis*) of the forms are shed and one enters the Realm which is the innermost secret of every [single] thing and its heart.
>
> Thus, the first birth occurs by the implantation of a seed of the sperm into the earth of the womb. The second occurs by the implantation of the Breath of

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[155] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (B), 77-78.

[156] A reference to Qur'an 15:29.

[157] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (B), 78. The notion of "entification" (*ta'ayyun*) is featured in other works of Hakki (notably, *Kitābu'n-Necāt*) and plays a major role in his metaphysics.

> Guidance in the womb of receptivity of the seeker.
>
> Whoever completes it, his is a time of a great deal of transformation in the longest grueling efforts and intense exercises before the enshrouding of the spirit from the nursing of the master (*mürşid*). It becomes manifest for a second time in the Realm of Divine Sovereignty (*malakūt*) and finds the birth of its heart and smells the scent of Reality. So one becomes a child after being a fetus and then becomes a young man after being a child.[158]

The two births are linked to the two breaths: the Breath of the Merciful, i.e., God, creates the being in the first birth, and the Breath of Guidance, i.e., of the Sufi master leads to the seeker's spiritual rebirth. The divine breath is the life-giving force that God imparts in the first birth; the "second birth" is made possible by the guidance that the Sufi master provides to his disciple. The role of the Sufi master in this transformation is critical as it parallels God's role in bringing to life the embryo: As God breathes life into the human being, so does the Sufi master breathe guidance into his disciple and spiritual successor.

[158] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (B), 78.

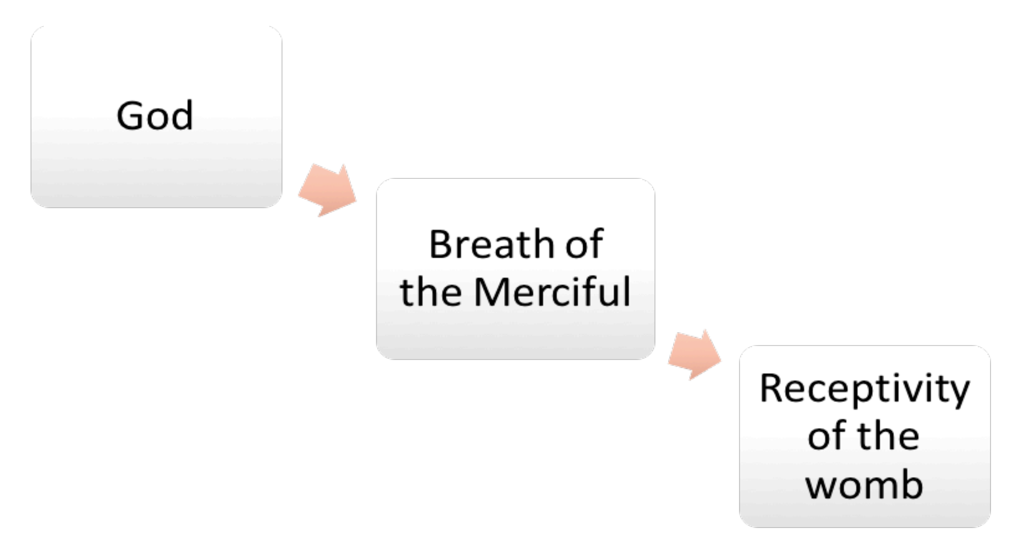


Figure 5. The "first birth" in Ismail Hakki's cosmology

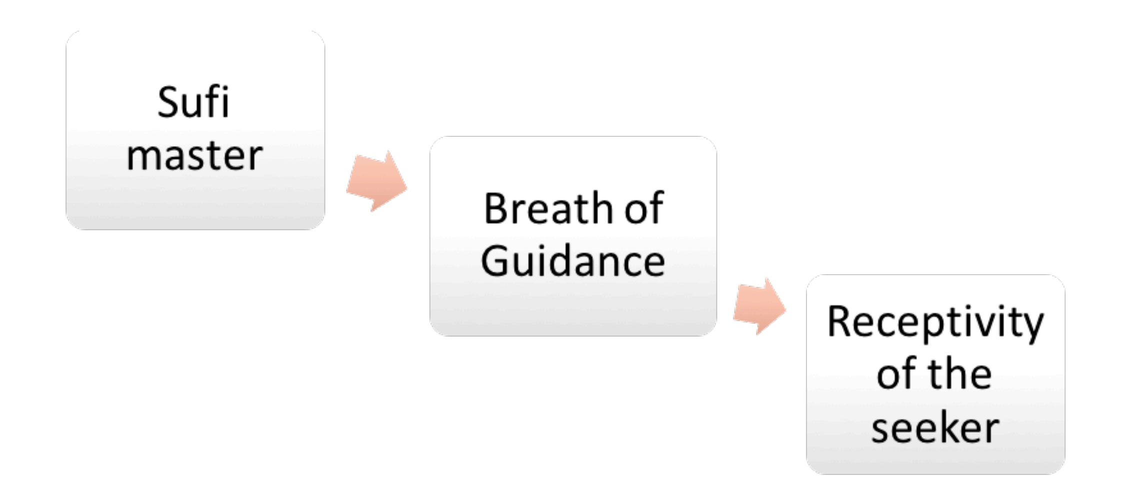


Figure 6. The “second birth” in Ismail Hakki’s cosmology

The notion of the “second birth” as an event following a gradual progression is further indicated by Hakki’s portrayal of knowledge as pre-existent and acquired by Sufis in gradual stages:

> Thus you proceed until the Knowledge of God (*al-'ilm bi'llāh*) inspires you and you achieve all of the [spiritual] levels. This knowledge is only fully completed years after its first manifestation just as one's mind is only fully completed at the age of forty. That is to say, one only achieves complete annihilation (*al-fanā' al-tāmm*) and arrives at the ultimate goal with no further goal during this time.[159]

Hakki's argument that knowledge is perfected at the age of forty harkens back to stories of Islamic prophets who received knowledge from a divine source at that age, thus suggesting parallels in the way both Sufis and prophets acquire knowledge.[160]

With regard to literary form, the concept of the two births is also significant to the narrative through its relationship to the text that comes after it: it sets the stage for the author's detailed discussion of how and when these two events occurred in his own person. The nature of the relationship between these different narrative elements is elaborated in the subsequent paragraph which outlines Hakki's origin and corporeal birth:

> His master appointed him by a sign from God Almighty in the village of Aytos, which is the birthplace of this wretch named Isma'il Ḥakki – may God better his state and make him inclined to good.[161] [Hakki's] father was Mustafa and he lived in the Ak-Saray neighborhood of Istanbul until the big fire occurred and destroyed his home and belongings.[162] He then moved from there to the aforementioned village [Aydos] since he had some connections with the locals. After he settled there, I was born.[163]

The concept of the two births illustrates the connectedness of the material and

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[159] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (B), 78. The idea that knowledge is pre-existent may explain Hakki's position on dreams as foreshadowing the occurrence of actual events, as I will demonstrate in the next section.

[160] See John Renard, *Friends of God: Islamic images of piety, commitment, and servanthood*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 68.

[161] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (B), 78-79.

[162] The fire, which took place on the thirteenth day of Dhu'l-Hijja 1063 AH [November 4, 1653 AD], is reported to have destroyed the covered market of the city in its entirety. See Katip Çelebi, *Fezleke*, [1869-1870], II, 372.

[163] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (A), 375-376.

immaterial realms of existence in Hakki's thought. It conflates the physical (and thus, bodily) process of childbirth with a "birth" of an intangible nature – that of a Sufi novice's progress on the path. As I will demonstrate below, the event of Hakki's "second birth" is identified at a later point in the narrative. Hakki's metaphysical discussion of the "second birth" establishes the crucial importance of the master-disciple relationship for the novice's progress on the Sufi path. In addition to providing a rough outline for the narrative that follows it, Hakki's metaphysical discussion highlights his master's vital role in his disciple's spiritual upbringing. As I will show below, this very relationship functions as the most significant source of religious authority for the narrator.

IV. Ismail Hakki's education – the intellectual life of a Sufi novice

The *Tamāmu'l-feyz* presents a very detailed image of Ismail Hakki's studies, including information about his teachers and a detailed list of the works he read, thus portraying his gradual progression on the Sufi path. It furthermore establishes an intellectual lineage between the young Hakki on the one hand, and major Persian and Arab literary figures on the other.

Hakki reports that his early education took place in his birthplace of Aydos. He began his studies by reading several books by Sufis with Osman Fazlı's successor in the town, Shaykh Ahmet. The account in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* describes Hakki as a youth whose intellectual curiosity and piety next took him on a journey to the city of Edirne (over 150 miles from his hometown), where he studied under the sayyid 'Abdulbaki Efendi, a renowned scholar who was popular with the ruling elite and close to Hakki's

master and family.[164] During the seven years under ‘Abdulbaki Efendi’s tutelage, Hakki reports memorizing the Qur’an and learning calligraphy, several fields of religious knowledge (*‘ulūm*), grammar (*ṣarf*), syntax (*naḥw*), and “what is satisfactory and sufficient to the mind from the first to the last”.[165] In a statement suggesting his exceptional status as a pupil, Hakki highlights the young age at which he was already pursuing his education: “[At that time] I was very little and, for a period of twelve months, my elder brother would walk me to Qur’an school (*kuttāb*).”[166]

The mention of Hakki’s brother accompanying him to the school suggests that the two may have been learning the Qur’an at the same time. Although he does not specify the exact age of his sibling, by characterizing him as older than himself, Hakki indicates his own swift advancement in the Qur’anic sciences, to the point of catching up to his elder brother. In this way, Hakki signals to the reader that he exhibited unusual piety and dedication from an early age – a development emblematic of budding spiritual ability and a common topos in hagiographical literature.[167]

Hakki further reinforces the image of his devotion to learning by stating that he used his inheritance from his mother (in the amount of twelve thousand dirhams) to support his studies of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and theology (*kalām*), another common

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[164] *Tamāmu’l-feyz* (A), 376.

[165] Ibid.

[166] Ibid.

[167] Among other Sufis who fit such a model, Ahmad ibn ‘Ajība (d. 1809) attended Qur’an school at an early age and memorized the entire book as a young child. See John Renard, *Friends of God*, 41. For more information on Ibn ‘Ajība, see Tayeb Chouiref, “Ibn ʿAjība,” in *EI*[3].

topos illustrating a Muslim scholar's piety.[168] At the age of sixteen, Hakki reports that he went to Istanbul to complete his studies with Osman Fazlı.[169] What followed – described in nearly identical terms across his autobiographical notes in both the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* and *Silsilenāme-yi celvetiye* – was Hakki's immediate initiation into the Celveti order:

> And upon my entering [to study with him], he read the letter, asked me some questions, and then made me give him an oath of allegiance in that same meeting. He then specified that I recite some portions of scripture as a liturgical assignment and advised me to take up permanent fasting.[170]

Hakki furthermore writes of studying belles-lettres, theology, and Qur'anic recitation (*tajwīd*), under a scholar named Muhammed Kara who – as the narrator points out – was well known in his time.[171] Some of the books he reports reading include *The Revision of the Principles* (*Al-tankīḥ fī al-uṣūl*), and *Elucidation and Allusion* (*Al-tevḍīḥ ve'l-telvīh*).[172] His reading list also included a number of Persian classics.[173]

Hakki's self-narrative in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* portrays this moment in the young

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[168] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (A), 377. Ahmad Ibn Hanbal is another noteworthy example of a person who used his family estate to finance his education. See H. Laoust, "Ahmad b. Hanbal," in *EI*[2].

[169] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (A), 377.

[170] Ibid.

[171] Hakki claims that he was proficient in all the sciences and he preached at several mosques on the shores of Istanbul. See *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (A), 377.

[172] Hakki is likely referring to the works of Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Qarāfī and Sa'id al-dīn b. 'Umar al-Taftāzānī (d. 793). He clarifies that the work in question [??there are two, which one?] is a commentary Osman Fazli wrote of *The Revision*.

[173] Namely, "the divāns of Ḥāfeẓ, the book "Gulistān ve Bostān" (and its commentaries), "Bahāristān" by Jāmī and "Negāristan" by the superb scholar (*'allāmat*) of Rām (Anatolia) Ibn al-Kamāl, "The Mathnawī" and the book "Fīhi mā fīhi" and "The Tafsīr of Ḥusayin" by the preacher (*wā'iẓ*) referred to as Kāshi, and other divāns of this type (*min hadha al-fann*), such as "The Patron of Faryābī" and al-Ḥakīm al-Anwari and Kemāl al-Ḥamīdi, and Molla Jāmi and others in both verse and prose (*min al-manẓūm wa'l-manṣūr*)." Hakki must be referring to Kemāluddīn Husayn b. ʿAlī al-Kāshifī (d. 1504-5), a well-known Timurid preacher and poet, who composed the *tafsir Mawāhib-i ʿaliyya,* also known as *Tafsīr-i Ḥusayni*. See *EI*[2], "Kāshifī". *Tamāmu'l-feyz*(A), 377-378.

Sufi's life as the beginning of his intellectual maturation: he reports writing his first commentary (of a book titled "The Knowledge of the Divine Obligations") at this time.[174] An anecdote further highlights the author's simultaneous status not only as a seeker of knowledge but also as its transmitter:

> So it became my custom to correct each report that [my master] had given during the class until I filled a big bag full of loose pages. I then knew that the teacher's corrections are like a whip to the student. Thus each transmission from teacher to student (*musnad*) in every age, through this correction, is taken in order to revive knowledge, which has become worn and neglected, and to exercise the student and mind of the seeker, and preserve the useful report. It has been said, "How much great knowledge the first left to the last, the novice also left to the senior".[175]

At this point in the narrative, Hakki critiques the "folk of rationality" due to their reliance on speculation (*anẓār*) for the attainment of knowledge.

> The folk of rationality will increase the facets of their knowledge and rational examinations until the Day of Reckoning (*qiyāma*). Their knowledge is only at the station of the inspired soul (*al-nafs al-mulhama*) and the imaginative and whimsical faculty (*al-quwwa al-wahmiya wa hayāliya*) by virtue of their negative suppositions and doubts, which are exacerbated by their turbulent thoughts. As for the knowledge of the folk of individual entities (*a'yān*), they are free of the flaws of philosophical speculations and its disputes.[176]

The descriptor "folk of rationality" likely refers to Mu'tazili theologians, who are often described in this manner due to their reliance on the intellect in the absence of revelation.[177] Hakki's reference here is a *topos* – the Mu'tazila were long gone as an independent force in Sunni Muslim theology by the time of his writing. What the author highlights is the orthodoxy of the larger group to which he claims affiliation ("the folk of

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[174] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (A), 377.

[175] Ibid.

[176] Ibid.

[177] See D. Gimaret, "Mu'tazila," in *EI*[2].

individual entities”) vis-à-vis their counterparts, whose method of knowledge acquisition he finds questionable at best. In the passage that follows, Hakki lends further support to Sufis, whom he refers to as the “masters of reality” (*meşāihu’l-hakīka*) and the “folk of entification (*ehl-i ta‘ayyun*)”. As their object of knowledge is identified as “reality”, this group of knowledge seekers are presented as superior to their counterparts – the “folk of rationality.”[178]

Those relying on speculative means for attaining knowledge are not the only ones who met with Hakki’s disapproval. As I will show below, due to the harsh criticism he directed at other members of the religious elite, the young Sufi found himself amidst a drawn-out conflict, in the resolution of which his master played a major role. Prior to that, however, I will examine the role of Hakki’s dream accounts, which enhance his self-portrait and claims to spiritual legitimacy in the *Tamāmu’l-feyz*.

I. From a novice to a *halīfe*: Signs of Hakki’s special status

Following the account of his initiation into the Celveti order and his early studies, Hakki’s autobiographical note in the *Tamāmu’l-feyz* describes a sequence of dreams that culminate in his investiture as his master’s successor (*halīfe*, Arabic: *khalīfa*) in Bursa.

The list of Hakki’s dream accounts begins with his interactions with and recognition by Osman Fazlı, and progresses into the future to the Day of Reckoning and God’s subsequent judgment of Hakki. The order of the dreams narrated mirrors widely

[178] It is also possible that Hakki is referring here to the *ulama* generally.

accepted perceptions of the natural progression of a person's life from birth to death (and following judgment). The parallels between life events and Hakki's dreams harken back to the idea of his spiritual rebirth (or "second birth"), whereby each consecutive dream of Hakki indicates his increasing proximity to this major event on the Sufi path. The culmination of this dream sequence describes Hakki's initiation or, investiture, as Fazlı's successor in Bursa, and concludes with a dream that Hakki has while in seclusion and a discussion on the nature and role of dreams for Sufis.

In the first dream, which features Hakki as an adolescent, a person offers him a choice between two vessels – one filled with water, and one with a honey drink. He correctly chooses the honey drink, as indicated by the affirmation that the person gives him.[179] The correctness of Hakki's choice is indicated by the positive associations honey bears in Islamic scriptural sources. Honey is mentioned twice in the Qur'an– once as a "healing for mankind" (Qur'an 16:69) and once as filling one of the rivers flowing through the Garden of Eden (Qur'an 47:15). It is also featured in hadith in which the Prophet says: "Healing is in three (things): a drink of honey, cupping, and branding (cauterizing) by fire. And I prohibit my nation from cauterizing."[180]

In the second dream, Hakki has reached legal majority (*bulūgh*), and is given a collection of Hadith which he opens to the middle, since "the best of matters are in the

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[179] This incident is reminiscent of the spiritual experience of the Prophet during the *isrā* when Gabriel offers him two vessels (one filled with wine, the other – with milk) and Muhammad correctly chooses the latter. See *Sahih Muslim*, Book 1, Number 309.

[180] *Sahih Bukhari*, Vol. 7, Book 71, Number 584.

middle”.[181] The first line of the first hadith on that page reads: “Oh, Isma‘il, complete the Isma‘ilian level (*martaba*), which is below the Abrahamic one.”[182] The dream establishes a clear link between Hakki and Abraham as it situates the prophet Ismail, with whom Hakki shares a name, at the very next level below. The account thus indirectly positions the author – as the namesake and thus heir to the prophet Ismail – in an intimate proximity to Abraham, a founding figure in the Islamic narrative of religious origins.

The dream account that follows is one of the very few that the author also relates in his autobiographical account in the *Silsilenāme*. It explores Hakki’s encounter with Ibn ‘Arabi, which is summarized by the following statement: “The Great Master [Ibn ‘Arabi] – may his purest soul (*sirr*) be sanctified – kissed my mouth, and I kissed his feet.”[183] This exchange could be interpreted as an approval or legitimation of Hakki by Ibn ‘Arabi. Kissing the hand or the feet of one’s master is a common sign of respect for and obedience to the shaykh. The fact that Ibn ‘Arabi kisses Hakki, as well, can be viewed as an indication of his blessing. This dream is also one of the very few that Hakki also recounts in the *Silsilenāme*, which highlights the significance that the episode has to his life narrative and self-representation.[184]

Hakki goes further and links himself to Adam and Muhammad in the fourth and fifth dreams he relates in the *Tamāmu’l-feyz.* There he compares his earthly tribulations

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[181] *Tamāmu’l-feyz* (A), 379.

[182] Ibid.

[183] Ibid., 377.

[184] *Silsilenāme*, fol. 82a.

caused by evil people to the trials that Adam endured as a result of his expulsion from Paradise:

> I dreamed of the father of men, Adam. He was on a camel, surrounded by many people, and he was in the same form as he was on earth – he had a full beard. He was crossing the cemetery road when I saw him. As he entered the palace of the sultan I followed his footsteps and entered after him. Then I woke up and this dream proves that I share in some transitory states with him (*al-aḥwāl al-ʻāriḍa*)[185] since he was tested by being expelled from Paradise, falling to Earth, and suffering many difficulties. I was also tested by some evil folk and moved from one place to another, the details of which will be mentioned later.[186]

Subsequent dreams link Hakki to the Prophet Muhammad. In one, Hakki asks Muhammad if it is true that there exists an underground ocean that has a thousand cities. Muhammad affirms the existence of these cities, stating that he has seen them. The Prophet describes seven images, which, as Hakki explains, correspond to the seven levels of reality.[187] The dream elevates Hakki's status in the spiritual hierarchy by revealing that one of his sources of wisdom is no one other than the Prophet himself.

The last two dreams Hakki lists in this section deal with his death and judgment. In the first of them, he is buried and his spirit separates from the body, learning "plenty of questions and answers."[188] What follows – Hakki's dream of the Day of Judgment – connects back to the first dream in the sequence – through the mention of food. When

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[185] It is unclear what Hakki means by "accidental" and whether that has a link to Aristotelian accidents. Ibn Ibn ʻArabi distinguishes between "accidental" and "essential" (*dhātī*) levels of perfection of the Perfect Man, and it is possible that Hakki's term echoes such a distinction. See Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge*, 306, 366.

[186] *Silsilenāme*, fol. 82a.

[187] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (B), 82.

[188] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (A), 379.

Hakki is asked to answer for his deeds, his master brings him a vessel of bread dipped in honey, bites off half of it, and hands him the other half, saying, "All of this repels being questioned in regard to external matters (*fī'ẓ-ẓāhir*)." Following this, Hakki reports being taught by God the secrets of His names, their loci of manifestation (*maẓāhir*) and the secret of vicegerency (*hilāfet*, Arabic: *khilāfa*), and answering all questions that he had been asked.[189]

Ismail Hakki's investiture experience, during which Osman Fazlı declares him his successor (*halīfe*) in Bursa, is narrated in both works as a dream, as well. The term – which means "deputy" or "successor" – has a wide range of connotations, the majority of which are of broader political and religious significance linked to the office of the caliph and more broadly, the successors to the Prophet Muhammad.[190] The title is also important in Sufi hierarchies of knowledge: in the Ottoman context, it was given to Sufi novices trained by a shaykh, or the administrator of a Sufi lodge (*tekke*) and its resident dervishes.[191] The status of a *halīfe* also led to one's inclusion in the spiritual genealogy (*silsila*) of a specific order.[192] In the *Tamāmu'l-feyz*, Fazlı's declaration of Hakki as his successor is the last dream that the author describes in the abovementioned sequence:

In the year 1085 (1675 C.E.), I was reading the *Muṭawwal*[193] to the master, and

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[189] Ibid., 379-380.

[190] See F. de Jong, P.M. Holt, A.K.S. Lambton and D. Sourdel, "Khalifa", in *EI*^{2}.

[191] Süleyman Uludağ, "Halife," *İA*, vol. 15 (1997), 299-300.

[192] Özgen Felek, "The Master of the Master: The Twisted Story of an Imperial Master and His Disciple," in *Journal of Sufi Studies* 1 (2012): 169-192, 187.

[193] Hakki is likely referring to the Arabic commentary by Mas'ûd ibn 'Umar Taftāzānī (1322-1390) of Hatīb Kazvīnī's work *Telhīsü'l-Miftāḥ* See W. Madelung, "al-Taftāzānī", in *EI*^{2}, and Ismail Durmuş, "Kazvīī, Hatīb" in *İA*.

> he – may his secret be sanctified – told me, "Come near, Ismail." And he pointed with his hand so that I could see: "Has the preparedness (*isti'dād*) for our path come to you?" And I came near him. And he put my head in his lap and he placed his hand upon it like a cupper puts his hand upon the head of a sick person, and said, "It has come to you". And he recited Sura Fatiha and he blew on me from head to toe, and then he said, "I appoint you my deputy in the town of Bursa". Then I woke up and it had occurred to me in the Realm of the Absolute Representation (*mithāl*) as well as in that of the senses.[194]

The account harkens back to Hakki's earlier discussion of the Breath, pointing to the vital connection now reestablished between the disciple and his master via the latter's act of breathing into the former. The same act of breathing that imbued the Divine Spirit into Jesus – the narrative suggests – brings Hakki to the next step in his path as a Sufi. Osman Fazlı is also reported to have indicated Hakki's special status by saying:

> It is not necessary for you to engage in seclusion (*khalwa*) and ascetic exercise (*riyāḍa*) as a seeker on the Sufi path (*sā'iru'l-ṣūfiya*) if what comes to those other than you through it, comes to you without it. And praise be to God![195]

Hakki reports that the master nevertheless recommended that he undertake a ninety-day long period of seclusion for the inward and outward benefits it would bring him.[196] On the very first night of the aforementioned period of seclusion (*halvet*, Arabic: *khalwa*), Hakki reports having had another dream, this time, of being at the gates of the Sultan, who was waiting for his mount:

> The sun rose and "shone upon the Earth with the light of its Lord" (Q. 39:29). The Sultan then mounted [his horse] and he had with him his retinue and his soldiers. Outside the gates there were three roads: one of them was standard and passable, but the others were unlike it. [He] took one of those not passable and traveled on it. So I said, "This is not passable". However, he responded, "Even if its beginning

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194 *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (A), 380.

195 *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (B), 83.

196 Ibid.

> is impassable and narrow, its end is a sprawling desert that is the site of hunting and merriment[...]" I remained at the gates until he returned to his abode and invited me into his chambers. When I introduced myself in his assembly, he ordered me to recite a hymn (*ilahi*). So I recited one of the praises of the Messenger, upon him be peace. He enjoyed it so much he gave me a round dinar the size of my hand, but rounder. I reached out [to grab it] and [at that moment] awoke.[197]

What follows is Hakki's description of the dream interpretation that Fazlı provided:

> "The Sultan [in the dream] is the sovereign spirit, the soldier is his power, the passable road is the *shari'a,* and the impassable one is metaphysical knowledge (*ma'rifa*) and reality (*ḥaqīqa*). Both of them are initially narrow in the view of people, but the traveler will find them very broad in the end. At first, we see people avoiding the road…" He then alluded to this with the verse: "Eden is surrounded with hardships."[198] The sultan of the spirit has many huntsmen at the end of the road. These are the secrets that are manifested by the appearance of the [divine] Names as said in the Mesnevi [of Jalal al-din Rumi]:
>
> *Those dreams that are the trap of saints,*
> *Are the moon-faced ones (mahrūyān) in the Lord's garden.*[199]

The passage's significance is tri-fold. First, it provides an illustration of the important role dreams played as didactic connectors between master and disciple. Özgen Felek has argued that,

> Dreams functioned not only to regularize the relationship between the master and disciple but also to strengthen the authority of the master over the disciple due to his ability to know and interpret the disciple's dreams and innermost thoughts.[200]

As evidenced in the above-mentioned quotation from the *Tamāmu'l-feyz*, Felek's observation is an apt characterization of the relationship between master and disciple in

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[197] Ibid., 84.

[198] *Sahih Muslim*, Book 53, Hadith 1.

[199] My translation. *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (B), 84.

[200] Felek, "The Master of the Master," 174.

Hakki's case: while Hakki is the recipient of the message encoded in his dream, he is unable to grasp its meaning without the help of his master.

Second, the account indicates a hierarchical understanding of knowledge acquisition whereby the Sufi path (hereby referred to as the road of reality) is portrayed as being more challenging (and by implication, more rewarding) than the *shari'a*, as a scholarly enterprise. In his *tuhfe* works, which I examine in Chapter 5), Hakki reveals that he sees these two paths to knowledge as complementary – an understanding also embraced by other Sufis from the Celveti order.[201]

Third, while it remains unclear whether Fazlı or Hakki is the one quoting the *Mesnevi* here, what is apparent is that the verse used above provides support to the master's argument against putting one's trust too squarely in dreams:

> Visions (*khayalāt*) are the loci through which creation is expressed, but the imagination and inspiration (*wahm*) and others are the hunting grounds of the saints.[202]

Specifically, Fazlı warns Hakki: "Don't focus on these dreams too much. Instead exert yourself to acquire what is required in the Realm of Entification (*ta'ayyun*) and the Imaginal Realm (*mithāl*)".[203] The model behavior is indicated next in the master's own attitude towards dreams, as well as by a claim about how early Muslims treated them. According to Hakki, his master's example corroborates a cautious approach towards

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[201] See Tabur, "Politics of Balance," 52-53.

[202] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (B), 84. The shaykh explains that, in dreams, one sees the visible world as a series of loci of manifestation of the divine attributes other than those of God's essence.

[203] Ibid.

dream interpretation:

> It has been said, it was his habit – may his salvation be sanctified – to write down only a few of his dreams. He used to say, "I don't see good events (*waqi'āt*) [in my dreams], but rather the misconduct and defects that God shows me. These are my dreams".[204]

Hakki elaborates on the above statement by his master by holding that, "the pious ancestors used to hold that unveiling defects is more appropriate than the occurrence of miraculous events since the master of unveiling often does not know of his own faults."[205] The statement lends further support to Fazlı's approach to dreams and positions him as a locus of orthodoxy by linking his practice to that of the early Muslim community. By extension – as Fazlı's disciple – Hakki thus situates himself within an established tradition of religious orthodoxy. And in his account of his education and dreams Hakki's appeal to tradition provides him with a cloak of religious legitimacy, even though this legitimacy would be sharply questioned during his early interactions with other members of the religious elite. As I will demonstrate below, the young Sufi's defense of orthodoxy would meet a strong resistance in the religiously and ethnically diverse city of Skopje (Uskup).

II. Ismail Hakki in Uskup: Endless pains and afflictions

Following Hakki's dream accounts, his autobiographical note in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz*details a lengthy conflict between him and the local ulama of Skopje that took place

[204] Ibid.

[205] Ibid., 84-85.

during his first assignment as his master's representative (*halīfe*) in the town. Hakki's narrative of this episode in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* provides further insights into the author's claim to spiritual authority based on his self-identification with religious orthodoxy. Hakki's self-representation as a person in a position of religious authority is also supported by a notion of divine justice that aids Sufis against their enemies.

Hakki begins his account of this episode after briefly mentioning the locations his fellow novices were sent to by Osman Fazlı: Sérres (Sirūz) and Štip (İştip), which the author connects to Bedreddin Simavi (d. 1420).[206] A brief digression – in which Hakki highlights the absence of people like Ibn 'Arabi and Sadreddin Konevī in his lifetime – sets the stage for his account of the conflict with the religious leaders of Skopje. Hakki's description of Skopje tells us of his strong animosity towards its denizens at the time of writing:

> *Uskup is in the abode [of Islam]*
> *But we found dogs among its dwellers*
> *Like a garden, it pleases the eyes*
> *But if you enter it, you'd encounter wolves*.[207]

Hakki writes of entering the town on a Saturday, in Rabī' II in the year 1086 (late June or early July, 1675). After moving from an establishment for Sufis (*ribāṭ*) to a private chamber in the Harim Mosque, he reports preaching in the Muradiye mosque, as well as several old mosques such as Yahya Paşa, Ishaq Bey, 'Isa Bey, and Mustafa Paşa.

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[206] Hakki reports asking his master about Bedreddin as well as about his book *Vāridāt*. The master's response "laysa bi'shay' wa fīhi saqaṭ kathīr" reveals his skeptical attitude towards the work. *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (B), 85.

[207] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (B), 86. My translation.

As for the Muslims in the town, he notes that “there were many people in the gatherings who led a number astray”.[208]

Hakki reports that he moved from one residence to another frequently during this initial period. He alludes to the impiety of certain locals by mentioning a dilapidated lodge (*zaviye*) hosting travelers and Sufis that was run by several merchants and inhabited by livestock. The place of worship was renovated when the mufti and judge took over the property, built it up, and allowed him to settle there. From there he moved once again to a Sufi convent (*zaviye*, Arabic*: zawiya)* built by a wealthy local woman, but reports turning down the invitations that followed to avoid slipping into a materialistic lifestyle.[209]

It was his preaching, however, that led to a head-on conflict with the local elite, whom he describes as “given over to passions, concerned only with their selves, drinkers of wine, abandoners of the community, proud of their fathers and mothers” for whom “knowledge was a collection of love poems (*ghazal*) which they followed as if they were emanations of the Eternal One”. The reference to the locals being proud of their mothers and fathers is likely a reference to Qur’anic verses in which people doubted prophets before Muhammad, particularly Moses, claiming the custom of their ancestors as a precedent.[210] The worst of their sins, according to the author, was obstructing students

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[208] Ibid., 87.

[209] *Tamāmu’l-feyz* (B), 87.

[210] See Qur’an 10:78, 14:10, 16:35, 28:36, 31:21.

from studying and seekers from their path to God, and the humiliation of both.[211] Hakki is especially critical of the local mufti, whom he describes as a pharaoh worshipped by his people the way the real pharaoh was worshipped by the Tribe of Israel, another reference to the Qur'anic narrative of Moses and his encounter with the pharaoh. The parallel Hakki draws between himself and the Qur'anic Moses gives his confrontation with the religious elite in Uskup a new significance – as a reenactment of the very ordeal which Moses underwent in his encounter with the pharaoh. The author's perceived connection to Islamic prophets continues in the next paragraph in which he describes being warned by "veracious visions" foreshadowing the conflict:

> I saw in a dream the father of man, Adam, who was in a trial of knowledge. Eventually the pen dried up, and he called on me to sharpen the sword, and kill those lowly devils lest the people have some argument against God. This test validates me and my forefathers. When the mufti and his aides saw that a conflict was brewing, they raised his standard [for battle]. So the army of God shot them from the gate top behind which they had retreated. They started returning fire by killing, attacking, banishing people, and by every other conceivable harm. And God forced me to speak with them so it would not be said, "And their hearts spoke with iron hard statements."[212]
>
> *I am not the one whose back you will see on the day of war*.[213]

Hakki describes his master's mediating role in the settlement of the conflict by pointing to his call for moderation. The narrator inserts apt quotations from Hafeẓ to lend support to, or cite a literary precedent for, the master's request:

> Then all of them agreed to write a slanderous report to the master in Constantinople. The master wrote to this wretch and in his message there was the

[211] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (B), 87.

[212] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (B), 89.

[213] Sa'di, *Gulistān*, Chapter 1, Story 3. My translation. For the standard Persian edition, see *Golestān*, ed. Ḡ. Yusofi, Tehran, 1989.

> order for tolerance according to the words of the Prophet, peace be upon him: "I commanded tolerance among people as I commanded moderation in religious obligations (*farā'iḍ*)".
>
> As Hafeẓ said:
>
> *'Comfort in the two worlds is the interpretation of these two sayings:*
>
> *With the friends – kindness; with the enemies – tolerance'.*

Hakki is quick to situate his seemingly graceful handling of the situation within established tradition, by appealing to the Qur'an and the sunna of the Prophet:

> And I said in my own words: "The truest word is the word of God and the word of His messenger and the words of the heirs [to him]."[214]

Additional quotes in support of moderation mix with Hakki's negative portrayal of his opponents, whom he describes as "ignorant fools". The resulting image juxtaposes the moderate and knowledgeable Fazlı and Hakki's supporters, on the one hand, to their zealous, ignorant attackers, on the other.

> As others have said: 'The comfort that I take in the two worlds is in moderation'. Moderation is difficult with ignorant fools. So I refrained from speaking at that time based on the advice of the master, as Hafez said:
>
> *'Wise advice is a source of righteousness and pure good*
>
> *Lucky is he who listens willfully'.*[215]

Through the interlacing of his own words with various kinds of prooftexts from hadith and poetry, Hakki directly situates his actions within a tradition of tolerance. He justifies his dismissal of his enemies' initial actions through another quotation, which leaves the reader with the impression that the protagonist, Hakki, is merely following a path of action prescribed by established authority:

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[214] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (B), 89.

[215] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (B), 89.

> Then their masters and judges held a grudge against me and [so did] whoever followed them from among the folk of injustice and corruption. Some incompetent mediators from their circles invited me to a meeting with them so that they could present their arguments to me. I said, as Zamakhshari said, "Verily my people gathered and conversed wrongly (*bi-naqṣ*). I care not for their gathering, for every plural is a feminine (*kull jam' muannath*)."[216]

The quotation by Zamakhshari, a Mu'tazili scholar who lived in the Sunni Seljuk Empire, might reflect his own struggles to secure a position in the court due to his unpopular theological leanings.[217] Hakki channels his dismissal of his opponents by referring to them as the "weaker" gender – a grammatical reference to the fact that plurals are considered feminine in the Arabic language.

In Hakki's description of the dispute, which he says lasted six years, readers see little of the introspection and humility that he exhibits in the earlier part of the treatise. Rather, convinced of his own righteousness and of being wronged by his critics, he writes:

> The basis for my argument with them was their disagreement with the Qur'an and sunna. And the basis for their argument [with me] was my disagreement with their deceived ancestors.[218]

This quote is important as it underscores Hakki's strong self-identification with what he perceives as orthodox Sunni Islam, therefore implying the heretical – or at best, deviant – status of his opponents. While the details surrounding the conflict remain unclear, the narrative points to some of the reasons for its escalation. Hakki writes of a man saying, "There is no good in young imams [being] in certain mosques (*masjid*) and [serving] as

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[216] Ibid. I haven't been able to identify the original source of Zamakhshari's quotation.

[217] See W. Madelung, "al-Zamakhshari," in *EI*^{2}.

[218] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (B), 89-90.

the overseers of Sufi convents (*zaviye*)"[219]. The narrator describes the aftermath of this encounter as follows:

> I showed him to some of the students, and they took him and struck him with a piece of wood twenty-three times. "And the command of God must be fulfilled" (Q 33:37).
>
> And he leaned towards [more] jealousy, and gave them money, and they helped him, as it is said, "Bribes aid invalid transactions, and dirhams are their answer for the injury (*jurh*) of time."[220]

The narrative then describes how the matter was brought up in a meeting convened by the elders in the neighborhood, and presided over by their representative, an individual identified as someone named Mahmūd al-Sakāli:

> When I entered, the aforementioned Sufi novice (*müteveli*) stood up, claiming that this one – pointing to this wretch – had beaten him. The representative then asked me, "Did you hit him?" And I said, "It's been said, 'Who taught me the letters has made me his slave.' If I had hit and berated him as his teacher, what right would they have to say anything?" So a verbal fight occurred between us and all of a sudden the students – who had knives in their hands – wished to kill the transgressors (*muhālifīn*) who were their enemy. When they saw them, the group dispersed in fear for themselves. Among them were individuals who had studied with me, and individuals whose children were studying at the time. They thus showed their treachery (*gadr*) and unbelief (*kufrān*). And protection is with God against defeat (*hizlān*). [221]

Hakki continues to build his image up in the narrative of the incident by depicting his opponent as morally inferior, and yet a threat due to his ability to manipulate the local elite. He argues that the antagonistic student pressed the mufti to side with him and issue a fatwa on the question of a teacher's right to strike his students. The narrative specifies that after taking a bribe the mufti yielded somewhat, issuing the following ambivalent

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[219] Ibid., 89.

[220] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (B), 90.

[221] Ibid.

statement:

> Verily, it is among the degrees of corporal punishment (*ta'zīr*). As for the right to hit (*ḥaqq al-ḍarāb*), it is sufficient to merely state the extent of the degree [of punishment]. And as for the right one has to inflict it, you do what you will.[222]

The narrative then depicts the escalation of the conflict: the lodge in which Hakki taught was attacked and his students imprisoned. His opponents, wishing to have him banished from the town through a royal edict, sent a report of the events to the Şeyhülislām, the Mufti of Istanbul. Hakki's discussion of their encounter highlights the amicable relationship between the high levels of Ottoman administration and Sufis like himself:

> And the Mufti of Istanbul (*şeyhülislām*) was at the time known as 'Ali, the son of the Sufi master (*ibnu'ş-şeyh*) [223]. He was a friend of the mufti in Uskup, from whom he regularly received gifts throughout the year. So I went to him, carrying in my hand the brief, eloquently written, paper in Arabic bearing the note from my master. When I entered, I gave him the paper. He glanced at the first line, folded it up and tossed it on a pillow. Then he said conceitedly, "Speak your mind," turning to me and ignoring the note. Shaking, I stuttered. He then said in a tone of reprimand, "You seem uneasy. Why don't you speak?" So I said, "The matter is such and such..." and I reported the dispute and quarreling that took place between me and the elite of Uskup. He said, "Go. I sent a writ to the judge in which there is an injunction against treating you harshly".[224]

The Mufti of Istanbul is described as being connected to the mufti of Skopje– whom Hakki portrays as being one of his key opponents in this conflict – as well as to his own master, Osman Fazlı. In the above-mentioned account, we thus see the Mufti navigating this web of elite relations by both assuring the young Sufi of a favorable outcome, while

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[222] Ibid.

[223] Hakki must be referring to the shaykh al-islam at that time, Çatalcalı Ali Efendi (1631/2-1692), whose father was a Naqshbandi shaykh. See Mehmet Ipşirli, "Çatalcalı Ali Efendi," in *İA*, v. 8 (1993), 234-35.

[224] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (B), 91.

also delegating the matter back to the local official. The narrative records how an earlier Şeyhülislām, Mehmed Esiri (1659–1662) praised Çatalcali ‘Ali for his tackling of the case:

> Then Mehmed al-Esīri[225] praised the Şeyhülislām who was a mufti in the master's younger days (*fī avā'il-i ḥazratu'l-şeyh*) and he said [about the current Şeyhülislām], "Verily, he investigates the state of rich and poor equally. And he has no arrogance, disgrace, stern looks, nor recalcitrance. He knows the full extent of the Folk of Knowledge (*eh-il ma'rifet*) and writes down in his own hand what the circumstances require".[226]

The narrative makes clear the lack of resolution of this conflict in the following two years, despite the transfer of Skopje's mufti to Bursa. Instead, the issue was continuously brought to senior Ottoman high officials who, like the Şeyhülislām, responded favorably to Hakki but delegated the case to someone else to adjudicate. The significance of this episode is in highlighting the relative limits of the personal authority of the Ottoman court in the provinces, and the relatively greater power of local religious leaders. It is also possible that the way the case was handles reflections a vision of the *shari'a*, as argued by Lawrence Rosen, not as a "settled body of doctrine but as socially orientated, chaos-reducing, locality-reinforcing means of providing morality and civility".[227]

> Then we returned and said, "The master sent a writ to the Vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha (el-Esved el-Maktūl)[228] and informed him of the story and advised him to hear the case in accordance with the noble shari'a instead of the imperial law

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[225] A former Şeyhülislām who served in this capacity from 1659 to 1662. See Mehmet İpşirli, "Esīrī Mehmed Efendi," in *İA*, v. 11 (1995), 390-91.

[226] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (B), 91.

[227] Lawrence Rosen. *The Justice of Islam: Comparative Perspectives in Islamic Law and Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 186.

[228] Hakki must be referring to Kara Mustafa Pasha, who served as a Grand Vizier from 1676 to 1683. See "Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa", in *İA,* v. 29 (2004), 246-49.

> (*kanūn*)". The Vizier sent an imam to my master saying that "He was at the master's service and that [my master] would attain what he wished, God willing". So I entered the Privy Court of the Vizier on Tuesday without any news of the opposing party. When the clerk read the note in my hands the Vizier signaled for the opponent to be brought in. All of a sudden papers containing the argument (*ḥujja*), its exposition (*'arḍ*), and the official report (*mahḍar*) were brought out. When he read the first line of the official report, he said, "Go and come back on Friday so that the Kazi 'Asker can hear your accusations." So we left. Then I came to the Kazi 'Asker , who was Ibn Beyāzi, with a paper written in Arabic.[229] He said, "There is no penalty for you hitting your student, so come on Friday, and be well."[230]

Colin Imber, in his study of Ebüs-Su'ud, argues that Ottoman legal texts do make a distinction between the *shari'a* and the *kanūn*, with the former occupying a superior position as a source of authority.

> In reality, the two systems of law had grown up independently of one another. The *shari'a* is the outcome of juristic speculation, and had reached its maturity two centuries before the emergence of the Ottoman Empire. The qanun, on the other hand, was a systematization of specifically Ottoman feudal practice which, in many essential areas of land tenure and taxation, ran directly counter to the doctrines of the jurists. It remained to Ebu's-su'ud to redefine the basic laws of land tenure and taxation in terms which he borrowed from the Hanafi tradition, and it was above all this definition which gained him the reputation of having reconciled the qanun with the *shari'a*.[231]

Leslie Pierce has noted that in sixteenth-century Aintab, however, *kanun* had a central place in the court, even if the *shari'a* held a more esteemed place:

> Law here has been primarily kanun – the essentially administrative law of the sovereign power. It was the regulatory thrust of kanun that provided the Aintab

[229] Hakki is referring to the Military Judge (Kazasker) Beyazizāde Ahmed Efendi. See Ahmet Zeki İzgöer - İlyas Çelebi, "Beyazizāde Ahmed Efendi", in *İA*, vol. 6 (1992), 55-56.

[230] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (B), 92.

[231] Colin Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud. The Islamic Legal Tradition* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, c1997) 51. Also see Vikør, *Between God and the Sultan. A History of Islamic Law*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 209. Also see Vikør, *Between God and the Sultan. A History of Islamic Law*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 209. Knut Vikør has defined the differences between the *kanūn* and the *shari'a* as being in the former being tied to the sultan's authority exclusively, while the latter is based on "a diverse and contradictory legal literature and the mufti's interpretation and adaption of this".

> court with greater heft in the summer of 1541. But we must always remember that subjects and rulers alike acknowledged the higher authority of sharia, the body of specifically Islamic legal traditions to which the empire professed allegiance.[232]

Importantly, Pierce's and Ronald Jennings' studies reveal the high level of community involvement in the court proceedings through the testimony of local people as witnesses in the courtroom: a phenomenon also illustrated by Hakki's account of the Skopje incident.[233]

Hakki reports his follow-up encounter with the vizier and his courtiers in a manner that lends further support to his claim to religious authority and relative victimization in the Skopje affair:

> When I came to the office of the Vizier on Friday, the opposing party was there. Several people among the Vizier's inner-circle mediated between us and prevented us from raising a case. They said to the opposing party, "You should not bring your teacher to the gates of the vizier for his mere hitting of you. Go to the master so he can reconcile what is between the two of you."[234]

In his narration of the meeting that took place between him and his opponent, Hakki further denigrates his enemy by suggesting that the latter was not genuinely invested in a reconciliation:

> We came to the master, who cried after some scolding remarks to both sides. Then he called for brotherhood and commanded us to embrace one another. The opponent proceeded rashly and I went my own way. Then the opposing party and several malefactors[235] pushed their way into the assembly of the Şeyhülislām in

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[232] Leslie Pierce, *Morality Tales: law and gender in the Ottoman court of Aintab* (Berkeley: University of California Press, c2003), 380.

[233] Pierce, *Morality Tales*, 98-99; Ronald C. Jennings, "Kadi, Court, and Legal Procedure in 17th C. Ottoman Kayseri: The Kadi and the Legal System," in *Studia Islamica,* No. 48 (1978), 142-46.

[234] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (B), 92.

[235] *Al-ashrār* in the A edition (p. 389). The spelling in the B edition (*al-ashrā'*) is erroneous (p. 92).

> order to expel me from the town. Their corruption[236] was hidden and appeared in the image of righteousness. He sided with them out of deference to the mufti of Uskup, who did not come this time since he was too clever of a devil for this.[237]

Hakki writes of eventually being advised by his master to relocate to the neighboring village of Veles, a proposal to which he acquiesced. The conclusion of this episode suggests that, despite the support Hakki received from Ottoman high officials in Istanbul, the complainants in Skopje prevailed for a time.

Hakki reminisces about his experience at a later point in the narrative, and alludes to the correctness of his decision to relocate. He mentions how, in 1100 (1689 C.E.), the Hungarian troops took over Skopje, bringing plague and destruction. The takeover of the town – Hakki triumphantly states – caused the demise of his former enemies, with the exception of the mufti who, in the author's words, had already died 'an ignorant death'[238] prior to the Hungarian attack.[239] His construction of the episode as a triumph of Sufis over their attackers implies a notion of divine justice which favors Sufis like himself against their enemies. Hakki's position – lamenting the perceived decline in the social and political standing of Sufis, on the one hand, and viscerally denouncing those who doubt Sufis' experiences, on the other – is echoed across a number of his works including the Turkish treatise *Kitābü'n-netice (The Book on Salvation)*:

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[236] *Fāsid al-bāṭin* in A edition (p. 389). The spelling in the B edition (*fāsida al-bāṭin*) is erroneous (p. 92).

[237] *Tamāmu'l-feyz (*B), 92.

[238] *Musnad Ahmad ibn Hanbal*, Number 16922.

[239] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (B), 98.

> Rebelling against (*huruc etmek*) the Axis is like rebelling against God. And God is overpowering and avenging. So none of those who have antagonized the Axes and the men of God with malice have recovered.[240]

To summarize, Hakki's narrative of the conflict that took place in Skopje portrays him as a young preacher whose authority was challenged by a student. Hakki's depiction of the drawn-out court battle, in which a number of high Ottoman officials side with him, indicates that his claim to religious authority in the above account is vindicated by his self-identification as a bearer of religious orthodoxy. His eventual expulsion from Skopje is furthermore framed in the narrative as a step towards the triumph of divine justice, which favors Sufis against their opponents.

III. Choosing the Sufi path and Hakki's second birth

After recounting his tribulations in Skopje, Hakki reports his follow-up appointments in Veles and Strumitsa as Osman Fazlı's deputy. In this section of his self-narrative, Hakki continues to portray himself as someone given entirely to spiritual pursuits, even if they come at the expense of his family's happiness. This representation of a thorough commitment to staying on the Sufi path is also what leads Hakki, the protagonist, to the completion of his second birth and ultimate rise to head the Celveti order after Osman Fazlı. The inner struggles that Hakki describes also provide an up-close view of his states of mind during that episode and a glimpse into his personality.

[240] *Kitabü'n-Netice* vol. I, p. 429. The axes Hakki is here referring to are the major Sufis of the age. As I demonstrate in Chapter 5, they play a crucial role in Hakki's metaphysics as the axes upon which the world rests at any given time.

Hakki writes that residing in Veles was very difficult for his family and particularly his wife, a native of Skopje (34 miles away), who missed her relatives there. After fourteen months in Skopje, Hakki and his family moved to Strumitsa – about 70 miles south of Veles – where he was a *halīfe* for another thirteen months. He describes this phase of his life as calm but plagued by his wife's anguish about the move and the additional challenge of lacking a permanent home. Hakki's comment that he did not consider "anything [to be] worse than the suffering of one's family" provides a rare insight into his attachment to his kin.[241] He describes his decision not to move to Istanbul (where his master was at the time) as a result of this concern.

The difficult choice between his wife's happiness and his spiritual pursuits – perhaps indicative of his inner battle between life as a husband and a father versus his role as a religious figure, continued to plague Hakki in the next several years. He reports that soon thereafter his master moved to Edirne on the request of Sultan Mehmed IV. The narrator informs us of a note that Fazlı received at that time which informed him of the passing of his deputy in Bursa and the need for his immediate replacement. Hakki then reports that his master urged him to take the position, while extolling the virtues of the city.[242] The narrative mentions that a discussion took place between Hakki and his wife about the potential move to Bursa, to which she reportedly said "God forbid!", likely because of the 500 miles between Bursa and her hometown of Skopje. Ultimately, a dream that Hakki had while contemplating the move to Bursa guided him to the final

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[241] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (B), 93-94.

[242] Ibid., 95-96.

decision.

> One night, I saw the master in a dream while we were in a spacious, tidy home. In the middle of it, there was a fountain. He rose up and pointed for me to lead the prayer (*bi'l-imāmet*), though there was nobody else with us there but God. When I was performing the second *rak'a*, the shaykh said, "Why aren't you performing the prayer for travel?" Then I noticed that my nose was bleeding. I said, "My ritual purification (*wuḍu'*) has been canceled," so I performed it again with water from the fountain and rose up for a second time. He then pointed to me to lead the prayer again. After I prayed a second time, I sat down and uttered the greeting (*salām)* at the end, thus completing the travel prayer.[243]

Similar to the earlier dreams that Hakki included in his self-narrative, the dream described above serves as a signpost for what came afterwards:

> I then woke up, drowning in a sea of thoughts. And what came to my mind was the dream that I had in the year 85 (1674 C.E.), when I was reading the *Mutawwal* with the master, and which I previously mentioned. In the early morning, a note suddenly came from the master in which he scolded me for abandoning the move, along with other instructions (*işārāt*). When I read it carefully, it took over my heart and all my previous states (*aḥwāl*) were annulled. *I was born for the second time.* God lifted the mountain with which I was burdened from my shoulders and let me rest. This was the first of the noble states with which God ennobled me, after delivering me from plight and difficulty.[244]

The above described event is of critical importance to Hakki's self-narrative in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* in several ways. First, it brings about the fulfillment of his master's intention to appoint him as his successor in Bursa, as expressed in Hakki's investiture experience mentioned in his recollection of the dream from 1185. Second, it indicates that Hakki chooses the higher road of the Sufi path, over the temptation to yield to his family's wishes. Third, the statement, 'I was born for the second time,' links back to Hakki's discussion of the second birth at the beginning of his autobiographical account in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz*. The narrative – which begins with an account of Hakki's first (i.e.,

[243] Ibid*.*, 96.

[244] Ibid.

physical) birth – thus comes full circle, indicating the moment of his second, spiritual birth.

Hakki dates the above note from the master to the end of Safar, 1096 (late January or early February, 1685 CE). He retells parts of it for his readers "to reassure your heart and convince you that the friends of God (*awliyā'*) command nothing save for what is good and follow nothing save for that which they encounter in their hearts (*rū'*), and that God always trusts them". He then quotes an expression featured in his master's letter, "The worshipper plans yet God ordains," and offers his interpretation of it.

> In it [the hadith] there is an indication for the preordainment of my travel (*hijra*), and that God Almighty had revealed to the master my immutable entity (*'ayn al-thābita*) among which was my travel and that it is fruitless for me to try and abandon it.[245]

The aforementioned immutable entity (*ayn el-sābita*, Arabic: *'ayn al-thābita*) is a concept used by a number of Muslim thinkers before Hakki, notably by Ibn 'Arabi, whose metaphysics Celveti Sufis followed. In his analysis of this concept in Ibn 'Arabi's thought, William Chittick has defined the "immutable entity" as an unchanging entity existing in potentiality in God's imagination that has not been brought into existence in the material realm.[246] Since what exists in God's imagination includes, by definition, more than what exists in the material world, the 'immutable entity' of Hakki should be

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[245] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (B), 96.

[246] See William C. Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge: Ibn al-Arabi's Metaphysics of Imagination,* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 83. Chittick points out that the difference between *'ayn thābita* (immutable entity) and *'ayn mawjūda* (existent entity) "corresponds exactly to the difference between the possible thing before it is given existence and the same possible thing after it comes into existence. However, the attribute thābita, "immutable", helps remind us that the possible thing never leaves its state of possibility in the divine knowledge. Though the entity may "exist" in the cosmos, it is still immutably fixed and "nonexistent" in God's knowledge".

considered as ontologically superior to his physical existence. In other words, Hakki's 'immutable entity' suggests even those parts of Hakki's nature that have not yet taken shape in the visible realm, but do exist in God's imagination. By revealing Hakki's 'immutable entity' to his master, one can surmise, the narrative indicates that God allowed the master a glimpse into the divine foreknowledge of his disciple's future, which in this case specifically refers to his relocation to Bursa.

In what follows, the narrative combines Hakki's own reflections on travel with Prophetic Hadith, as well as Arabic and Persian poetry in an effort to convince the reader (and perhaps even the protagonist himself) of the positive outcome of the dreaded relocation to a distant city. Hakki launches a discussion of the positive effects of travel by citing a poem from Shafi'i's *Diwān* on the five benefits of travel: 1) relief from adversity, 2) earning a livelihood, 3) gaining knowledge, 4) acquiring refinement, and 5) finding companionship.[247] According to the author, a foreign land exposes the traveler to differences which, in turn, lead him to distance himself from his ego. The severing of all relations save for those of hope and love further helps the seeker reach divine secrets.

The author's romantic view of travel is nevertheless tempered by his anxieties about departing from what is familiar. As an example, Hakki points to the pain of separation (*alemu'l-inkiṭā'*) suffered by his students and himself following his departure from Uskup, a pain which was alleviated only by God's blessings.[248] The narrator's

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[247] A partial edition of this *qasīda* is available in Muhammad b. Idrīs Shafi'i, *Diwān al-Shafi'i*, edited by Zuhdi Yakan (Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1962), 52.

[248] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (B), 97.

uncertainty about the move is indicated in his inclusion in the narrative of the Qur'anic verse, "Perhaps you like something which is bad for you" (Qur'an, 2:216). Hakki interprets the verse as an injunction to leave a foreign land if it does not bring one any of the aforementioned five benefits. He justifies his move away from Uskup by writing that, "for him who fled for his religion, his is paradise". In a final attempt to persuade the readers that his decision to move to Bursa was a correct one, he portrays it as the loftiest of all the cities in which he had lived. A verse from Sa'di's *Bostān* ("Oh agreeable friend, for the darkness don't care / Who knows but the water of life might be there!"[249]) may reflect the author's cautious optimism about the move. Importantly, the term Hakki uses for the move – hicret (Arabic: *hijra*) – is meant to create a parallel between him and Muhammad and underline the religious decisions underlying his readiness to uproot himself and his family.

In his continued defense of the move to Bursa, Hakki provides quotations from his commentary on the treatise on prayer, emphasizing the importance of a Sufi disciple's obedience to his master, by a certain Hanafi jurist Keydāni, the pseudonym of a certain Lütfullāh Nesefī.[250] He notes, "The disciple is the one who is free from his own desires and follows what the master says regardless of whether he likes it or not," and that, "God's judgment (*kazā'*), the Messenger's judgment, and the judgment of the heir to the

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[249] *The Garden of fragrance. A Complete translation of the Bostan of Sadi by G.S. Davie, M.D.*, (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co, 1882), 212. For the standard Persian edition, see Sa'di, *Bustān-e Sa'di*, edited by Gōlāmḥosayn Yusofi, 10th edition, Tehran 2010.

[250] For a reference to work, see Namlı, *İsmail Hakkı*, 166. I have not been able to identify its title or any additional details about the author.

Messenger are the only judgment."[251] As he links obedience to the Sufi master to obedience to God's commands, the narrator concludes that it would be a sin to abandon a journey commanded by God. To further illustrate his unwavering commitment to the Sufi path, Hakki discusses his readiness even to leave his family in the service of God, as well as his wife's surprising agreement with the move.[252]

After outlining the benefits of travel, and discussing the differences between teaching and preaching, Hakki concludes his autobiographical account in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz*, whose goal the narrator identifies as being "the worlds of the universal and the particular and the lofty and the lowly, and the marriage of the females of the souls to the males of the spirits resulting in the birth and nurturing of knowledge (*ma'rifa*)." Hakki defines the "females" and "males" as different types of knowledge: the first – being perfect (*kāmil*) – is the the one who enters the Sufi path and observes good conduct (*sāhibu's-sulūk*), the second, which is even more perfect (*akmal*), is the one who makes others enter the path (*sāḥibu't-taslīk*).[253] The metaphor indicates the roles that the novice and master, respectively, play in the attainment and transmission of knowledge. Hakki's representation thus places the teacher – as the one who paves the path – at a higher, "more perfect" level of knowledge acquisition than the student. This is a pithy illustration of the way the Sufi master and his disciple are represented in the autobiographical note and a natural transition to the next chapter of the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* in which Hakki records

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[251] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (B), 99.

[252] Ibid.

[253] Ibid., 108-109.

some of his conversations with his master in Famagusta.

IV. Conclusion

We encounter Ismail Hakki's first autobiographical note in his treatise *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (*The Perfection of Emanation*), which records the life and wisdom of Hakki's master, Osman Fazlı. While Hakki's autobiographical account is only a fraction of the entire work, it includes a wealth of information about his early life and education, initiation into the Celveti order, and subsequent residence in several Balkan towns as a Celveti Sufi and an imam, as well as meetings with Fazlı during the latter's exile in Cyprus.

The various literary elements of the narrative combine to paint the progression of Hakki from a Sufi novice in training to a budding Celveti master, in the span of over twenty years. Hakki's self-portrait in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* tells the story of an intellectual and spiritual journey that the young disciple undertakes under the guidance of his master. As the title of the chapter containing Hakki's autobiographical note suggests, the author's connection (*intisāb*) to the Celveti Sufi master Osman Fazlı is the focal point of the account. Indeed, one of the very first things Hakki mentions in this autobiographical account is the friendship between his family and Fazlı. Hakki's initiation in the Celveti Sufi order and subsequent investiture as Fazlı's successor are also among the most vividly recounted events in the chapter. After his departure from the master's lodge, Hakki continues to maintain regular contact with the shaykh and receives ample advice on navigating the diverse social and religious environments in which his disciple finds

himself.

The author's autobiographical note included in the treatise provides an important glimpse into Hakki's self-representation and views on the role of Sufis in Ottoman society. Hakki completed the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* as the newly appointed Celveti master, following the death of his master. In this first written autobiographical account, he asserts his religious authority through a portrayal of rigorous education, communication with prophets and prominent Sufi masters through dreams, and a defense of orthodoxy as a *halīfe* in Uskup, as well as readiness to sacrifice his family's happiness for the pursuit of the Sufi path. Hakki's powerful connection to his master, the well-respected and influential former head of the order, however, remains the central theme running through the narrative. The emphasis on this connection between master and disciple provides in-narrative justification for Hakki's investiture as the future Celveti master, and buttresses his image as Fazlı's spiritual heir. The crucial effect a Sufi master has on his disciple is revealed through Hakki's notion of the 'second birth' – an event of spiritual transformation that took place under the guidance of his master and ultimately led to Hakki's rise as his replacement at the head of the Celveti order.

As I will demonstrate in the next chapter, in his autobiographical note written as an established Celveti Sufi master, Hakki's self-representation and claim to spiritual legitimacy differs from the one discussed above. In his self-narrative in the *Silsilenāme-yi Celvetiye*, a work he wrote nearly thirty years after the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* as a Celveti master, Hakki employs discursive tools to claim religious authority not merely from his connection to his master but from his membership in the Celveti order. The differences

between the two autobiographical notes reiterate the importance of examining autobiographical writings with a view to their rhetorical and ideological aims. A comparative analysis of the two self-narratives furthermore demonstrates how Hakki redefines and redeploys the existing institutions of the master as well as the order to assert himself as the most important Celveti Sufi of his time.

CHAPTER 4. THE BREATH OF THE MASTER:

SPIRITUAL LEGITIMACY THROUGH THE SUFI ORDER

In the *Tamāmu'l-feyz*, as has already been mentioned Ismail Hakki portrays himself as a young Sufi who, after physically punishing a student for disobeying him, found himself in a drawn-out conflict with members of the local religious elite in the Balkan town of Skopje. In an autobiographical note that he composed over thirty years later in the *Silsilenāme-yi Celvetiye* – a work which traces the genealogy of the Celveti Sufi order – the then established Sufi master Hakki mentions the Skopje incident only briefly (in one sentence), while recounting the dreams and visions that he had over the course of his life in greater detail over four folios.

The distinct self-representations in each autobiographical note undoubtedly reflect the major personal, professional, and political events that shaped the author's life in the thirty years separating the two accounts. Importantly, they also point to the distinct generic possibilities of each work in which the self-narrative appears, and the influence of the former's rhetorical and ideological goals on the latter. The *Tamāmu'l-feyz* pays homage to the monumental figure of the Sufi master – in the person of Osman Fazlı – and the formative experiences Hakki had under his tutelage. The *Silsilenāme* portrays both master and disciple as links in the chain (*zincir*) of Celveti saints and focuses on Hakki as the final expression of a long line of spiritual legacy.

Likewise, each text creates a different representation of religious authority. As I demonstrated in the previous chapter, in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz*, Hakki's claim to spiritual

legitimacy is rooted in his close relationship to his master, Osman Fazlı, the then head of the Celveti Sufi order, and can be read as an argument favoring his succession to Fazlı. In that treatise, Hakki emphasizes his unique connection to the master through the very inclusion of his own autobiographical note in a work otherwise solely dedicated to the life and teachings of his master. The special bond that Hakki has to his master is hinted at during the account of the first meeting between the master and his new disciple who was only three years of age, and it continues to inform the narrative as Hakki encounters earthly challenges and spiritual transformation as a young *halīfe*

In the *Silsilenāme*, by contrast, Hakki's claims to religious authority are based on his institutional identity as a Celveti master. Hakki wrote the *Silsilenāme* as the head of the Celveti Sufi order – and thus from a position of authority vastly different from the one he occupied while writing the earlier *Tamāmu'l-feyz*. His later autobiographical account reflects this difference in status: in this Sufi genealogy, Hakki claims spiritual legitimacy through his visionary encounters with past Celveti masters, and gives a long list of his own intellectual contributions as a writer. While in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz,* Hakki draws on the authority of his master, in the *Silsilenāme*, he *is* the master, negotiating his place in the Celveti Sufi order.

I. *Silsilenāme-yi Celvetiye*: An overview

The *Silsilenāme-yi Celvetiye,* also known as the *Kitāb Silsile-i Celvetiye,* is an Ottoman Turkish treatise on Celveti Sufi history, genealogy, and doctrine. The

Silsilenāme's biographical entries on the Celveti order's various Sufi masters, including their education, works, and initiation in the order situates the work in the genre of the biographical dictionary (*ṭabaqāt*). Jawid Mojaddedi aptly summarizes the content of these works as depicting "the past of a particular tradition of religious affiliation or scholarship, the chronological parameters of which conventionally stretch from an authoritative stand-point to the generation (*ṭabaqa*) immediately preceding the assumed author.[254] The organizational structure and rhetorical and ideological goals of *ṭabaqāt* works – likely due to the diversity within biographical writing – have, however, been the subject of debate among scholars. For example, scholars disagree on the nature of the relationship between the subjects of biographical works and their larger social and political environment: While Chase Robinson has argued that Arabic biographical writing, with its focus on the model religious scholar, aimed to "not merely edify or inspire, but to produce social and institutional consequences", John Renard has stated that *ṭabaqāt* authors provided only brief information the individual's life, education, and famous words and deeds at the expense of any analysis of the Sufi's miracles or his or her larger historical or social context.[255]

Upon a closer examination of Ismail Hakki's *Silsilenāme*, one finds that no clear boundary can be discerned between the religious life of the biographical subject, on the

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[254] Jawid A Mojaddedi. *The biographical tradition in sufism: the Ṭabaqāt genre from al-Sulamī to Jāmī.* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2001), 1. For the historical formation of the t*abaqāt* genre, see Michael Cooperson, *Classical Arabic Biography. The Heirs of the Prophets in the Age of al-Ma'mun* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1-23; for the pre-Islamic and Qur'anic roots of Arabic historiography, see Tarif Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 1-7.

[255] Chase Robinson, *Islamic Historiography* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 63; Renard, *Friends of God*, 242.

one hand, and his social role, on the other: Sufi masters are influential teachers, itinerant scholars, and frequently involved with the Ottoman ruling house in an advisory capacity. It is therefore apt to consider the *Silsilenāme*'s possible sub-generic classification as being somewhere between Renard's categories of "hagiography" and "biohagiography":

> *Hagiography* focuses on the uniquely spiritual and moral qualities of the subject, including in many instances elements of the miraculous or marvelous. 'Attār's *Remembrances of the Friends of God* is the quintessential example of this approach, offering relatively sparse commentary on the stories of the Friends. *Biohagiography* adds significant information about the subject's personal, public, and political life. One example is the Indian work known as the Naqshbandī Assemblies. This added information expands the individual's stature as a paragon of involvement in the real world. *Hagiology*, finally, includes elements of doctrine or other theoretical considerations with narratives. Tādilī anf Jāmī, for example, introduce hagiological features in their anthologies and include sections on miracles in their introductions.[256]

Importantly, the *Silsilenāme* is the only known work that traces the succession of Celveti Sufi masters. Hakki completed the work in 1724, shortly before his death. The *Silsilenāme* has 41 chapters and can be divided into 4 parts: 1) theological points containing sections on Allah and the archangels Isrāfīl, Mīkā'īl, and Jibrā'īl, followed by short biographies of Muhammad and 'Ali b. Abī Tālib; 2) early Sufis to whom Hakki claims the Celveti order is linked through spiritual lineage (beginning with Kumayl b. Ziyād, and featuring among its most prominent members Hasan al-Basri, Junayd al-Baghdadi, and Ibrahim Zahid Gilāni); 3) biographies of Celveti Sufis beginning with the order's patron saint Muhammad Üftade, and ending with Ismail Hakki; 4) beliefs and customs of the Celveti order, including what is considered obligatory for, or to be avoided by, its members. The biographical sections range in length from a half a page

[256] *Friends of God*, 242.

(such as the entry on Momşād Dīnūrī) to fifteen pages (such as the entry on Osman Fazlı Atpazarı).

In terms of their content, the entries include biographical information on the person, including birthplace, family, early education, links to other well-known Sufis via kinship or training, anecdotes about the subject's progress on the Sufi path illustrated by their interaction with living and deceased Islamic figures. The accounts are intertextual in their content, as they intertwine Qur'anic quotes and hadith with information available in other Sufi works (such as, for example, Ibn 'Arabi's *Futūḥāt al-Makkiya*), to paint a particular image of the subject. In light of this content and organization of the *Silsilenāme*, Julia Bray's dubbing of biographies as 'metatexts' is particularly illustrative. Bray defines the term as "works which, on an individual and *ad hoc* basis, make up their own rules for reading the smaller texts of which they are formed".[257] Mojaddedi also highlights the creativity of Sufi biographical works, which he argues is inherent in the way that biographers select, organize, and modify information acquired from their predecessors[258]:

> The selection of biographies to be included in a *ṭabaqāt* work is a way of indicating a definition of the tradition whose past is being represented, in that it structures a diachronic community, the parameters of whose identity are demarcated by the characteristics of its individual members.[259]

In his study of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, by focusing on the thematic and terminological

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[257] Julia Bray, "Literary Approaches to Medieval and Early Modern Arabic Biography," in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic of Great Britain and Ireland* 20, no. 3 (2010), 244.

[258] Mojaddedi, *The Biographical tradition in sufism*, 180.

[259] *The biographical tradition*, 178.

variation in a compiler's use of *ṭabaqāt* source material, Kevin Jaques demonstrates that biographers in the Circassian Mamluk period not only had the ability to control the content of each entry but also exercised the authorial choice to do so.[260]

The present study will demonstrate that the definition of tradition that the *Silsilenāme* suggests is of critical importance to Hakki's self-representation in the work and his larger claims to religious authority as the Celveti shaykh of the time. Hakki places the entry on himself at the very end of a long chain of authoritative Sufis that make up the Celveti spiritual genealogy (*silsila*). In constructing the *silsila*, Hakki, as the biographer, provides more substantial information about certain Celveti masters than others, and comments on their piety and character. Hakki's omissions of prominent Celvetis in the *Silsilenāme* are however, as telling, as the entries included. For example, Hakki includes no biographical entry on Selāmi 'Ali (d. 1692), who shared a master with Hakki's own master Osman Fazlı Atpazari in the person of Zākirzāde 'Abdullah (d. 1657), and is considered to be the founding figure of the Selāmiyye subbranch of the Celveti order.[261]

The absence of an entry on Selāmi needs to be assessed with regard to the fact that he and Hakki are generally considered in the secondary literature to be the eponymous founders of two separate sub-branches of the Celveti order, and to have favored very

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[260] R. Kevin Jaques, *Authority, conflict, and the transmission of diversity in Islamic Law*. (Boston: Brill, 2006), 59-88. For other studies on the ṭabaqāt genre, see Ibrahim Hafsi, "Recherches sur le genre Tabaqat dans la littérature arabe," Arabica 23 (September 1976): 227-65, 24 (Fenruary 1977): 1-41; 24 (June 1977): 150-86; George Makdisi, "*Ṭabaqāt*-Biography: Law and Orthodoxy in Classical Islam," *Islamic Studies* 32 (1933): 371-96; Michael Cooperson, Classical Arabic Biography: The Heirs of the Prophet in the Age of al-Ma'mūn (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2000), and Tarif Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[261] Kara, "Selāmi Ali Efendi," 348-49. Also see Yılmaz, *Azīz Mahmūd Hüdayī*, 148.

different approaches to a Sufi's involvement in social life, with Selāmi supporting asceticism and Hakki urging for the participation of Sufis in the broader religious and political life.[262] By not including Selāmi in his vision of the genealogy of the Celveti order, Hakki effectively demarcates the boundaries of religious authority and, consequently, who falls within and outside of them. To Hakki, the peaks of the Celveti spiritual genealogy were his master and himself – the last two entries in the *Silsilenāme*.

II. Comparing Ismail Hakki's autobiographical notes: Narrative time and speed

Similar to the autobiographical note Hakki provides in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz*, Ismail Hakki's autobiographical account in the *Silsilenāme* is but a fraction of the entire work (for example, six out of over a hundred folios in one of the manuscripts that I consulted). Hakki describes the purpose of the work as the "enumeration of [Celveti] *khalīfa*s and their connection to one another".[263] The treatise features a long section on important members of the Celveti order, influential earlier Sufis, and monumental Islamic figures, before it concludes with Hakki's autobiographical account linking the author to an unbroken chain of spiritual mastery stretching all the way back to the prophet Muhammad, angels, and ultimately, to God.

Relative to the autobiographical note in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz*, Hakki's self-portrait

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[262] H. Kamil Yılmaz, *Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi*, 244. See Chapter 4 for a discussion on Hakki's views on the public role of Sufi shaykhs.

[263] *Silsilenāme*, fol.79b.

in the *Silsilenāme* is substantially shorter. It focuses less on his social interactions in real life and instead highlights the spiritual states, dreams and visions that link him to other major Muslim figures. For example, he elaborates significantly less on the specific subjects he studied, yet he narrates in detail his mysterious initiation by Osman Fazlı; he describes his struggles with the elite in Skopje in only a sentence, but provides detailed accounts of his dreams of Üftade, Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi, and Ibn ʻArabi. This difference can be explained by the distinct ideological goals of each self-representation. In the *Tamāmu'l-feyz*, Hakki draws religious authority from his affiliation with his well-respected master, and support from prophetic figures in the face of adversity. In the *Silsilenāme*, as the master himself, Hakki's spiritual legitimacy is asserted by prior Celveti Sufis.

In Figure 8 below, I outline the major points of difference between Hakki's self-narrative in the *Silsilenāme* and the *Tamāmu'l-feyz*. The outlines present the major events in Hakki's life in the order in which they are narrated in each text. In problematizing these variations of Hakki's life-story, I find Mieke Bal's theory of narratology particularly useful in distinguishing between a "(narrative) text" and a "story", whereby the same story may be featured in different texts.[264] The *Tamāmu'l-feyz* and the *Silsilenāme* do tell the same overarching story – that of Ismail Hakki's life – yet they are distinct as texts and thus each of them exhibits a different narrative.[265] Gerard

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[264] Mieke Bal, *Narratology: introduction to the theory of narrative*; translated by Christine van Boheemen (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, c1985), 5-10.

[265] Genette defines *story* as "the signified or narrative content" and *narrative* as the "signifier, statement, discourse or narrative text itself". Gerard Genette. *Narrative Discourse. An Essay in Method*, Translated by Jane E. Lewin. Foreword by Jonathan Culler (Cornell University Press: Ithaca, 1980), 27.

Genette's distinction between *story* as "the signified or narrative content" and *narrative* as the "signifier, statement, discourse or narrative text itself" helps further illuminate the difference between Hakki's life story, and the narratives of it in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* and the *Silsilenāme*.[266]

Figure 7. Comparing the narratives of Ismail Hakki's life in the *Silsilenāme (SJ)* and *Tamāmu'l-feyz (TF)*

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">Narrative Element</td><td colspan="2">Sources</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Metaphysical discussion on the notion of being born twice</td><td colspan="2">TF</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">1063/1653 - Ismail Hakki is born in Aytos after his family moves there following fire in Istanbul.</td><td colspan="2">TF, SJ</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">1066/1656</td><td>Ismail Hakki is first brought to Celveti Shaykh Osman Fazlı by his father</td><td>No further details provided (SJ)</td><td>The event is recounted in the context of many instances of friendly interactions between the shaykh and Hakki's family (TF)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Osman Fazlı is said to have mentioned that:</td></tr>
</table>

[266] Genette's distinction between the two borrows from German theoreticians' terms erzälte Zeit (story time), and Erzählzeit (narrative time). See Gunther Müller, "Erzählzeit und erzählte Zeit," *Festschrift für P. Kluchohn und Hermann Schneider*, 1948; rpt. in *Morphologische Poetik* (Tübingen, 1968). Cited in Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 33.

<table>
<tr><td></td><td>Hakki was his disciple since the age of three (SJ)</td><td colspan="2">Hakki was “the first among his children and the foremost among his students”, and he knew him since the age of three (TF)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">1070/1670 – Hakki studies with Ahmet Efendi</td><td colspan="2">TF</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="2">1073-1074/1663-1664 – Hakki studies with ‘Abdülbaki Efendi</td><td colspan="2">TF, SJ</td></tr>
<tr><td>‘Abdulbaki Efendi is identified as a relative of Osman Fazlı and his first disciple (SJ)</td><td>‘Abdulbaki Efendi is said to be in the service of the Sultan at that time and to have been raised by Osman Fazlı in Aytos and known by Ismail's father as well (TF)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">???? - Travels to Shumen</td><td>No record (SJ)</td><td>Following the death of his mother, Hakki is under the guardianship of his father and grandmother. He uses his inheritance to buy books. Describes studies (TF)</td></tr>
<tr><td>1083/1672</td><td>Goes to Istanbul to study with Osman Fazlı and becomes initiated into Celveti order</td><td colspan="2">TF, SJ</td></tr>
</table>

	Mentions reading a specific book and commentaries.	Discussion of types of scholars. Lists of books read. Discussion on calligraphy and its link to the Heavenly Tablet. A series of dreams described.
1085/1674	Conversion experience	*TF, SJ*
	Dream of Ibn ʻArabi narrated in detail, dreams of other Sufis and prophets indicated	Describes having a dream about the sultan and Osman Fazlı's interpretation of it. Discussion on the role of dreams. Author's poem in praise of Ibn ʻArabi, Sadreddīn Konevi and Osman Fazlı.
1086/1675	Residence as representative of Fazlı (*khalīfa*) in Skopje	*TF, SJ*

		Only mentioned as a time of "endless pains and afflictions" (*SJ*)	Poem on Skopje[267] Detailed description of event. Quotations of Hafez, Zamakhshari and others intertwined with the narrative. Experience linked to a dream that came true later. (*TF*)
1087/1676	Marriage to the daughter of Shaykh Mustafa el-Uşşāki due to a dream	*TF*	
1092/1681	Moves to Veles	*TF*	
1093/1682	Moves to Strumitsa	*TF*	
1096/1685	Visits his shaykh who was residing in Edirne	*TF*	
1096/1685	Stay in Bursa	*TF, SJ*	

[267] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (B), 86.

		Described as one in which trials of worldly and other-worldly nature take place (*SJ*)	Initially resists the move but after having a dream and “being born for the second time,” he agrees to go there. Visits Osman Fazlı in Edirne for a second time and Ibn ‘Arabi’s *Fuṣūṣu’l-ḥikam* with the shaykh In Bursa, conditions are poor. Receives a dream in which the shaykh warns him he'll suffer for 2 years. Warned by the shaykh not to teach in Bursa initially as it would distance him from the truth Discussion of 2 types of lessons Discussion of the difference between sermons and teaching Reports commencing the *Rūḥu’l-bayān* *(TF)*

1097/1686 – 1101/1690	Pays subsequent visits to his shaykh in Istanbul	*TF, SJ*
1102/1690	Hakki visits his shaykh in Famagusta Shaykh Osman Fazlı passes away	

		Osman Fazlı is mentioned as being locked in a vault. Reports visions of Hüdayi who indicates a special connection between him and Hakki. Provides a record of his works. Osman Fazlı summons him after completing his commentary of Konevī's tafsir on the Fātiha and wishes him to produce even more. Fazlı praises Hakki as a disciple of a caliber not even Hüdayi has Hakki mentions recording Fazlı's words in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* in Arabic the way Hüdayi recorded Üftade's teachings. (*SJ*)	[Records of talks with the shaykh follow] Hakki is pronounced by him the next Celveti shaykh. – In the beginning of next chapter, Hakki reminisces of reading the *Fuṣūṣu'l-ḥikam* with the Shaykh in Edirne and then moves on to record his sayings during every time he visited him (*TF*)
1107-1108/1695	Participates in the first and second Austrian campaign at the request of Sultan Mustafa	*SJ*	

1111-1112/1700	Performs first Hajj. On his return, Ismail Hakki is attacked by bandits and loses some of his works	*SJ*
1129/1717	Returns to Bursa after a stay in Tekirdağ. Travels to Damascus	*SJ*
1132/1720	Goes to Üsküdar	*SJ*
1135/1723	Returns to Bursa	*SJ*
	Mentions certain books and that he wrote over 30 works in Üsküdar	*SJ*
	Mentions dreams and visions: • Hüdayi and Üftade appear to him while in Üsküdar • Ibn ‘Arabi appears to him in Damascus • Receives a vision of Muhammad	*SJ*
	Marries for the second time, wife’s name not mentioned	*SJ*

As evidenced in the summary above, which I examined in more detail in Chapter 2, Hakki’s autobiographical note in the *Tamāmu’l-feyz* covers a span of 27 years, from his birth in Aydos to his master’s death in Magosa. It includes detailed information about his studies, travel, dreams, and most importantly, interactions with his master, who provides spiritual and social guidance to his disciple for more than two decades.

What becomes immediately clear after comparing the two autobiographical notes is that they do not narrate the exact same events in the same order. Hakki includes only a handful of events in both narratives.

Figure 8. Events listed in both the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* and the *Silsilenāme-yi Celvetiye* in near identical terms.

1653 – Hakki's birth in Aytos

1656 – First meeting with his Sufi master-to-be Osman Fazlı

1663/1664 – Hakki commences studies with 'Abdulbaqi Efendi

1672 – Travel to Istanbul and initiation in the Celveti order

1672-1674 – Dream encounters with Ibn 'Arabi and other Sufis and prophets

1674 – Investiture experience as Fazlı's successor in Bursa

1690 – Osman Fazlı indicates Hakki's special status in the order

If we furthermore compare the narrative speed at which each account covers the same story, we find further discrepancies. Genette defines narrative speed by "the relationship between a duration (that of the story, measured in seconds, minutes, hours, days, months, and years) and a length (that of the text, measured in lines and in pages)".[268] Relative to the narrative at the *Tamāmu'l feyz* the one in the *Silsilenāme* skips through a number of years during Hakki's childhood, slows down significantly to provide information about his initiation and investiture experiences and then zooms off his life as

[268] Genette, *Narrative discourse*, 87-88.

a *halīfe* on the Balkans. This approach continues until one of Hakki's last conversations with his master during the latter's exile in Magosa, when he indicates Hakki's special status in the Celveti order. As the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* concludes in that same year, marking the death of Fazlı, the *Silsilenāme* continues on to recount Hakki's travels and brief residency in Uskudar. The narrative then veers off to include a list of selected works by Hakki and continues at a much slower speed to recount a number of visions he had at different times of his life. Upon closer examination of the events that are included in both narratives and the similarities and differences in their presentation, it becomes clear that these narrative – or, discursive – similarities and differences point to Ismail Hakki's specific constructions of religious authority. Where his autobiographical narrative in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* ends, pleading spiritual authority based on the narrator's close ties to his influential Sufi master, the *Silsilenāme* continues to portray the growth of this disciple into a master himself. The inclusion in the narrative of dreams that link Hakki to prominent Celveti Sufis - such as the founding figures of Üftade and Hudayi – furthermore indicates Hakki's focus on maintaining specifically Celveti Sufi identity and a claim to power – as the latest master in the *silsila* – as the authoritative Celveti Sufi master at a time when his position may have been contested by Selāmī 'Ali's followers.

In the remaining pages, I will outline the ways in which Hakki's self-representation in the *Silsilenāme-yi Celvetiye* shapes his notion of religious authority in the work. I will particularly highlight the points of similarity and difference with his self-narrative in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz.* As I demonstrated in the preceding chapter which examined Hakki's self-narrative in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz*, the author's claim to religious

authority is based on his close relationship to the influential Sufi master, Osman Fazlı. In the *Silsilenāme*, this notion of spiritual legitimacy is buttressed by another level of religious authority – that derived through one's affiliation with an established Sufi order.

III. "You have been our disciple since the age of three"

The early part of Hakki's life is only outlined in the *Silsilenāme* briefly. In it, several moments loom brightly: Hakki's first meeting with the master Osman Fazlı, his initiation in the Celveti order, and his investiture experience during which Fazlı pronounces him his successor in Bursa. These events – also narrated in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* in nearly identical terms – function as signs of Hakki's recognition by his master and lay the groundwork for his subsequent claim to spiritual legitimacy as the next Celveti shaykh.

Hakki's self-narrative begins by tracing out his birth in Aytos and first encounter with the Celveti master Fazlı. As I mentioned previously, in this account, the author omits any information on the nature of the relationship between his family and the master that he elaborates on in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz*:

> Know that this wretch's father, Mustafa, was born in the Ak-Saray neighborhood in Istanbul. Overwhelmed by the notorious fire [of 1652] which destroyed his belongings (*esās*) and furniture (*rāhtlari*), Mustafa left and moved to the small town of Aytos. It was there that my master, the lord of the divine Axiss, Osman Fazlı had succeed the aforementioned [Zākirzāde Efendi].
>
> One day during the respected master's residency there, this wretch set foot on the terrace of his being. I was three when my father brought me to the master to kiss his hand. Because of this, he would sometimes say, "You have been our disciple

since the age of three". [269]

In the above quotation, which I also discussed in Chapter 2, Hakki highlights the early age at which his relationship to the Celveti master began. The author's shift from speaking about himself in the third person to the first person could be interpreted as a shift from a tone of humility to one of greater confidence and perhaps even pride in the special place he had relative to Osman Fazlı's other disciples.[270]

Following the mention of his first meeting with his master, Hakki briefly recounts his education. The account omits a number of details mentioned in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz*, and only features his first teacher, 'Abdulbaki Efendi, described in the text as closely related to Osman Fazlı.[271] In this narrative, the author emphasizes 'Abdulbaki Efendi's spiritual prominence – via his close relationship to Fazlı – at the expense of the former's political ties to the sultan that are hinted at in Hakki's earlier autobiographical note in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* Instead, the *Silsilenāme* succinctly describes Hakki's first teacher as "the *seyyid*[272] 'Abdulbaki Efendi who was the first disciple of the master as well as his relative."[273]

In contrast to the *Tamāmu'l-feyz,* where Hakki enumerates the specific disciplines that he mastered under 'Abdulbaki Efendi's tutelage – such as calligraphy (*khaṭṭ*),

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[269] *Silsilenāme*, fols. 81b-a.

[270] See Bray, "Literary Approaches," 252.

[271] *Silsilenāme*, fol. 81a.

[272] An honorable title for descendants of the prophet Muhammad. See C.E. Bosworth, "Sayyid", in *EI*[2].

[273] *Silsilenāme*, fol. 81a.

grammar (*ṣarf*), syntax (*naḥw),* among others, the account of his early education in the *Silsilenāme* is very laconic:

> After learning to read and write (*ḳıraat ve kitābet*), I joined my master who had moved from the city of Filibe [present day Plovdiv] to Istanbul. Upon my arrival, I entered the sublime assembly and at that very moment pronounced the oath of allegiance and the initiation (*talkīn-i zikr*).[274]

The brevity in narrating his early education may indicate the relative unimportance of that period of his life to Hakki's self-representation in the *Silsilenāme*. Completing the work as the Celveti Sufi master and an accomplished author, Hakki appeals not to his connection to his teachers but to the Sufi order, as a source of authority.

The central place of Hakki's membership in the Celveti order is indicated by the collapsing of narrative time and space in this part of the autobiographical note: the author skips over ten years of his education and jumps straight into an account of his initiation into the Celveti order, under Fazlı, an event which Hakki narrates in nearly identical terms in both works:

> Upon my entering [to study with him], he read the letter, asked me some questions, and then made me give him an oath of allegiance in that same meeting. He then specified that I recite some portions of scripture as a liturgical assignment and advised me to take up permanent fasting.[275]

The similarities between the two narratives point to the event's centrality to Hakki's self-representation across the two works. This is not surprising as a disciple's initiation with his master is one of the most significant events of a seeker's progress on the Sufi path.

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[274] Ibid.

[275] Ibid.

This consistency between the *Silsilenāme* and the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* is echoed in Hakki's account of another critical moment of his life: his mysterious investiture experience as Osman Fazlı's successor in Bursa. The two accounts bear a striking resemblance. In the *Silsilenāme*, Hakki describes the experience as follows:

> One day while I was sitting in my sleep after sunrise (*işrāḳ*) […] I saw the master entering through the doorway of the mosque. Upon seeing this wretch, he said, "Come, let me see. Did the receptivity (*isti'dād*) come to you on this path?" Reaching out to this wretch, he put my head on his knees and I fell asleep. He then placed his blessed hand on my forehead and uttered, "Now, your readiness has come! Now your readiness has come!" After repeating this twice, he pronounced the *besmele* and recited Sura Fatiha from beginning to end. He breathed on me from head to toe and said, "I make you my representative in Bursa (*seni Brusa'ya halife ettim*)".[276]

As a reminder, Hakki recounted the same incident in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* in approximately the same terms:

> In the year 1085, I was reading the *Mutawwal*[277] to the master, and he – may his soul (*sırr*) be sanctified – told me, "Come near, Ismail." And he pointed with his hand so that I could see: "Has the receptivity (*isti'dād*) [to God's emanation] on our path come to you?" And I came near him. And he put my head in his lap and he placed his hand upon it like a cupper puts his hand upon the head of a sick person, and said, "It has come to you". And he recited Sura Fatiha and he blew on me from head to toe, and then he said, "I appoint you my deputy in the town of Bursa". Then I woke up and it had occurred to me in the Realm of the Absolute Representation (*misāl*) as well as in that of the senses.[278]

The action of the master blowing "from head to toe" combined with his question of the disciple's receptivity in this account harkens back to Hakki's discussion of breath in the

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[276] *Silsilenāme*, fol. 81a-82b.

[277] Hakki is likely referring to the commentary work by Mas'ūd ibn 'Umar Taftāzāni (1322-1390) of Hatīb Kazvīnī's work *Telhīsü'l-Miftāḥ*. See W. Madelung, "al-Taftāzānī", in *EI2*, and Ismail Durmuş, "Kazvīnī, Hatīb," in *İA*, vol. 25 (2002), 156-57.

[278] *Tamāmu'l-feyz* (A), 380.

Tamāmu'l-feyz. Hakki's notion of the "second birth" – as discussed in Chapter 2 – occurs when the breath of the master's guidance is planted in the womb of receptivity of the seeker. From the description of the above event, it is very likely that it is indeed the receptivity (*isti'dād*) that Hakki is referring to is his own soul's readiness to accept the divine emanation (*feyz-i ilāhi*).

With regards to Hakki's intellectual pursuits at this time in his life, the narrative in the *Silsilenāme* is much more laconic than the one presented in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz*:

> At that point, we studied the *Mutawwal*. After the aforementioned breath, the *Mutawwal* gave way to the *Atwal*[279]. Other works manifested and gradually [that number of books] exceeded twenty such that because of the aforementioned breath, a divine opening (*feth*) occurred and I began composing glosses (*te'vīlāt*) of Qur'anic verses and Hadith.[280]

This brief account nevertheless highlights Hakki's quick transition from a reader of important texts, to their commentator and an author in his own right. Similar to his presentation of his first encounter with his master, the above note indicates the subject's unusually rapid progress on the Sufi path, and hints at his intellectual acumen.

Hakki's account of his dreams leading up to the moment of his investiture as Fazlı's successor in Bursa is also substantially truncated in the *Silsilenāme*. The only dream which the author narrates in detail in is that of Ibn 'Arabi, which is narrated in very similar terms as those in his earlier autobiographical note in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz*:

> On another occasion, the Great Master of the world [Muhyi al-dīn Ibn 'Arabi], appeared to me [in a dream] and kissed my mouth and I kissed his feet and as a

[279] Hakki is likely referring to another commentary of Kazvīnī's work, *al-Aṭwal, by* Isāmüddīn al-Isferāyīnī. See Mehmet Sami Benli, "Miftāhu'l-Ulūm," in *İA*, vol. 30 (2005), 20-21.

[280] *Silsilenāme*, fol. 82b.

> result even more secrets (*esrār*) were revealed to me.[281]

Hakki mentions the remaining dreams he experienced only in passing by noting that,

> Teaching (*istifāde*) also came from Shaykh 'Abdülkadir-i Geylānī[282] and Ibrahīm Edhem[283] and, from among the pirs of our order, from Shaykh Üftade and Hüdayi, and from among the prophets, peace be upon them, at first Adam and then the majesty of prophecy [Muhammad] – peace and blessings be upon him – manifested (*temsīl edip*) and the secret of the mystical state (*hāl*) and the nature and context of man was revealed (*münasebet-i ricāl ne ettiği münkeşif oldu*).[284]

He is nevertheless careful to mention his contact with key Sufis in the Celveti spiritual genealogy, pointing to his uncontested place in the latter: Abdülkadir Geylānī (d. 1165-66) – Hanbali theologian and the founder of the Kadiri Sufi order - is included by Hakki in the *silsila* of the Celveti order, which "ascended like the crescent moon" during his time, according to the narrator.[285] Ibrahim Edhem (d. 778), widely portrayed in legendary sources as the ruler of Balkh who abdicated in order to live an ascetic life, provides another pillar of spiritual legitimacy for the dreaming *murīd*.

These detailed accounts of Hakki's dream life are contrasted with the nearly total omission of a discussion of the events that took place in Skopje and Bursa, which he summarizes in the *Silsilenāme*:

> There was no end to the suffered pains (*alām*) and afflictions (*şedā'id*) as initially

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[281] *Silsilenāme*, fol. 82a.

[282] See Süleyman Uludağ, "Abdülkādir-i Geylānī," in *İA*, vol. 1 (1988), 234-239.

[283] See Russell Jones, "Ibrāhīm b. Adham," in *EI2*; and Reşat Öngören, "İbrāhim b. Edhem," in *İA*, vol. 21 (2000), 293-95.

[284] *Silsilenāme*, fol. 82a.

[285] Ibid., fol. 87b.

> he [Hakki] was sent as a deputy [of Fazlı] in the Balkan town of Uskup. After spending ten years there, he was moved to Bursa for a short time during which trials of a worldly and immaterial nature took place.[286]

After briefly outlining his years in Skopje and Bursa, Hakki's self-narrative skips his stay in Veles and Strumitsa and moves on to describing his visits to his exiled master who was "locked up in a vault" in Famagusta. On one of the days of his visit, Hakki describes the following event:

> Having read some verses from Sura Yusuf, being in a state of trance (*incizāb*), and after we had uttered a sublime supplication, [Osman Fazlı] commanded, "What brings you here is your legacy, for I haven't found anyone that is closer to my heart (*ta'allük*) than you." Having said that, he put a mahogany bead from his rosary in the middle of his [Hakki's] mouth and uttered, "This breath, after me, is coming to you". As I kissed his feet, I experienced boundless delight and unlimited happiness.[287]

The incident stresses the strong spiritual legacy connecting master and disciple. As discussed in Chapter 1, the notion of breath is key to Hakki's cosmology: as God's breath – the Breath of the Merciful – imbues beings with life, so does the breath of the master – the Breath of Guidance – bring about the second birth of the Sufi who has annihilated his own ego and achieved death before dying (*fanā fī'llāh*). The above account further illustrates the centrality of the concept of breath to Hakki's view of the world around him: the breath of the master is a microcosmic version of the divine Breath. Just as God is said to have breathed the divine spirit into Jesus in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* in the *Silsilenāme*, the breath of Fazlı passes on to his disciple, Hakki. In both events, a unique bond of vicegerency is formed between the one who exhales and the recipient of the breath: as the human being becomes God's heir on earth, so does Hakki becomes his

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[286] Ibid., fol. 82a.

[287] Ibid., 82a-83b.

master's heir and successor.[288]

IV. The emergence of a Sufi master

Shortly thereafter, Hakki mentions that he was referred to as belonging to the "tribe of the folk of the [divine] names" – a topic on which his spiritual diary, *The Great Insights [of Divine Knowledge]* (*Vāridāt-i Kubra*) elaborates. What follows is a break in the linear narrative in which the author provides a partial list of his works, the total number of which – he explains – exceeds a hundred.[289] Hakki lists fifteen of them:

- The three-volume Qur'anic commentary, *The Spirit of Elucidation* (*Rūḥu'l-beyān*)
- *The Commentary of the Forty Hadith* (*Şerh erba'īn hadīs*)
- A Commentary on the grammar (*adāb*) and the principles (*usūl*) of Hadith, *The Prize of Thought* (*Nuhbetu'l-fikir*) which is the *Major Anthology* (*Mecmua-i Kubra*)
- *The Book of Sermons* (*Kitābu'l-ḥitāb*)
- *The Book of Salvation* (*Kitābu'n-necāt*)
- *The Big Book* (*Kitab-i kebīr*)
- *The Value of the [Sufi] State* (*Naḳdu'l-hāl*)
- *The Book of Pure Truth and Sound Discovery* (*Kitābu'l-haḳḳi'l-ṣarīh ve'l-keşfi'l-*

[288] For a brief discussion of a Sufi's initiation by his master as a process of death and rebirth see Eric Geoffrroy, *Introduction to Sufism – The Inner Path of Islam*. (Bloomington, Indiana: World Wisdom, 2010), 146.

[289] *Silsilenāme*, fols. 83b.

ṣaḥīḥ)

- *The Book of Outcomes* (*Kitābü'n-netīce*)
- *The Commentary on the Muhammediye* (*Şerhu'l-Muhammediye*)
- *The Commentary on the Mesnevi* (*Şerhu'l-Mesnevī*)
- *A Gift to the Haseki* (*Tuhfe-i Hasekiye*)
- *The Commentary on [the Qur'anic sura] The Opening* (*Tefsīr-i Fātiha*)
- *The Commentary on the [Book of] Major Sins* (*Şerhu'l-kebā'ir*)
- *The Perfection of [divine] Emanation* (*Tamāmu'l-feyz*) [290]

Hakki concludes this section delineating the linguistic expanse of his writings: his works, the author emphasizes, were written in Arabic as well as [Ottoman] Turkish. He further mentions writing over ten thousand poetic verses (*menzūmeler*).[291] This information reinforces the author's emerging image in the account as an established spiritual leader and scholar. The sheer diversity of topics on which Hakki wrote – as evidenced in the various literary genres that his enumerated works span – hints at the vast scope of his intellectual production. By including this information in his self-portrait, Hakki further affirms the notion that at the time of writing, he is a prolific author and a versatile intellectual – yet another representation of his religious authority as an influential Sufi master and an Ottoman intellectual.

According to his self-portrait in the *Silsilenāme*, not only is Hakki a talented

[290] *Silsilenāme*, fols. 83b.

[291] Ibid., fols. 83b-a.

writer, but he occupies a unique place in the Celveti order. After the above mentioned list of works, Hakki relates a conversation that took place between him and his master during the latter's exile:

> At a blessed hour on Friday, after my master had completed his sublime work, the commentary on Konevi's Commentary of the [Qur'anic sura] The Opening, he summoned this wretch. The commentary of the *tafsīr* was a large volume which he handed me with the words, "Take this, it is the product of 36 years [of labor]. May God Almighty bestow more on you", he said. He prayed there and the station of mystery of the works of men (*sırr-i ricāl ne ettiği bir mertebe dahi*) was also revealed. Regarding this wretch, the breaths were of praise (*tayyibe*) as in "Almighty God gave me a successor that he did not give to the master, that is, Shaykh Hüdayi," he [Osman Fazlı] proclaimed. He added, "Almighty God has manifested the pīr's secret in you," (*seni hazret pīrin sırrine maẓhar eylemiştir*), "and these words issued forth from him (*ve bu kelām ol cihhetten onlardan sādir oldu*)." As this wretch was in his presence, I was taking down in writing these lofty words in Arabic, as Hüdayi took down the words of Shaykh Üftade and one part of it was written in the book titled *Tamāmu'l-feyz*.[292]

The anecdote establishes a connection between Hakki and another important Celveti master, Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi, one of the founding figures of the Celveti order. Fazlı's praise of his disciple as the "successor that [God] did not give to [even] … Hüdayi," strongly suggests that Hakki was an exceptional Sufi who even surpassed his earliest Celveti masters. The narrative contrasts the temporal distance between the two Sufis with the intellectual affinity that they had in the eyes of Fazlı.

The account also draws a parallel between Hüdayi and Hakki through the vehicle of their works. As previously mentioned, Hüdayi recorded his conversations with Üftade, his own master, in his work *Vakı'at*.[293] Hakki composed a similarly structured treatise dedicated to his own master – the *Tamāmu'l-feyz.* By establishing a parallel between their

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[292] *Silsilenāme*, fol. 83a.

[293] See Chapter 1, n. 91.

writings, Hakki claims legacy of one of the most important Sufis in the Celveti order. Writing nearly a hundred years after Hüdayi's death, Hakki reminds the reader that the shaykh's legacy is still very much alive in his own person and works.

The parallels between Hakki's self-narrative in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* and *Silsilenāme-yi Celvetiye* end here as the autobiographical note in the latter work continues on to describe the next three decades of the author's life following Osman Fazlı's death. Hakki outlines the immediate aftermath of his master's passing as follows:

> After the master's death, on the invitation of Sultan Mustafa himself, this wretch went to battle (*ghaza*) twice, and also was able to go on pilgrimage (*hajj*) twice. During the pilgrimage that took place in the beginning of 1114 (1702 CE), the work he authored – [entitled] *The Secrets of the Hajj* (*Esrār-ı Hacc*) – and other sublime works [that he wrote] were lost when the caravan was plundered. *The Subtle Signs* (*Işārāt-i latīfe*), which was written in the Two Holy Sites [Mecca and Medina], and other of our works were also lost [as a result of the attack].[294]

The above account suggests several important points indicating Hakki's growing intellectual and social influence. The first is the summon he receives from the sultan to join him at the battlefront. It is likely that Hakki filled the position of the "army shaykh" (*ordu şeyhi*), a position occupied by a number of Sufis from the major orders in the Ottoman Empire from the fifteenth through the nineteenth centuries, whose precise role in the war effort is unclear. The second point, about Hakki's pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, highlights his piety but also, importantly, his intellectual output, through the reference to the works he lost during the caravan attack. The image of Hakki that emerges out of this account is one of a productive scholar, with a proximity to the highest echelons of the Ottoman ruling elite.

[294] *Silsilenāme*, fol. 84b.

Following the account above, Hakki skips over nearly a decade of his life, to note that, twenty-eight years following his master's passing (that is, in 1719 C.E.), he moved from Bursa to Damascus with his wife and children. He writes that, after spending three years in the city where Ibn 'Arabi was buried, he moved back to Istanbul, with "God's permission and a sign from the Prophet," as well as guidance from Ibn 'Arabi and Hizir, and Osman Fazlı's permission.[295] Hakki's experience of communicating with the mythical Hizir, the long-deceased Prophet Muhammad and Ibn 'Arabi, as well as his own deceased master Osman Fazlı further collapses time and space as these multiple sources of Islamic authority, stretching from the seventh through the seventeenth century, coalesce in Hakki's present. As I will demonstrate in the next pages, Hakki's accounts of his encounters with these established sources of Muslim spirituality – in dreams and waking life – speaks to the broad recognition that he claims to have acquired from the Prophet and these influential Sufis.

V. Voices from another realm: Hakki's *vāridāt*

The narrative suggests that such 'signs' (*işāret,* Arabic: *ishāra*) continued to guide Hakki's decisions in the following years. Following a three-year stay in Uskudar, he returned to Bursa due to another divine sign.[296] Much like the dreams that he describes in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz*, these divine signs portrayed in the *Silsilenāme* connect Hakki to the

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[295] *Silsilenāme*, fol. 84b.

[296] Ibid., fols. 83a-84b.

prime sources of spiritual authority – first and foremost, God, followed by the Prophets Muhammad, and monumental Sufi figures such as Ibn ‘Arabi, and his own master, Osman Fazlı. The first such experience in a string of retrospective visionary accounts situates him next to the two most important Celveti Sufi masters, Mehmed Üftade and Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi:

> When I was in Uskudar, one night Muhammed Üftade and Mahmud Hüdayi – may God sanctify their souls – appeared. They came to my side and sat down. And it was Üftade who began speaking first. Üftade spoke as Üftade and Hüdayi as Hüdayi: “At last, you’ve reached their level (*āhir sende onlara eriştin*),” he said. “There has been a sign in Bursa that we would take you to be to our right side (*Bursa tarafina işāret vāki‘ olup size sağ tarafımıza alalım diye remz olundu*).” Hüdayi [then] made some jokes (*mülātafāt*). His complexion was pale [lit., yellowish], and he had a light beard and a moderate frame. Üftade was of tall stature and had a long beard. Furthermore, in his complexion there was a tinge of yellow...[297]

Hakki records the vision in a way indicating that embodiment is an essential component to his spiritual experiences. He wrote a number of diaries, meticulously recording the occurrences of such “visits” (*vāridāt,* Arabic: *wāridāt*) during his life.[298] These works include records of experiences of a cognitive and sensory nature, which Hakki recounts

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[297] Ibid., fol. 84a.

[298] The broader meaning of *vārid* – the singular of *vāridāt* – is “one that reaches” or “one that arrives [to water]”. The Arabic root of the word, w-r-d, also means “to be received” or “to come to someone”. Particularly in the plural – *vāridāt* – the term bears the specific meaning of “impressions” or “inspirations”, which may come directly from God to the seeker, or be brought about by esoteric as well as exoteric knowledge. Some sources describe these “inspirations” or “visions” as transmitted by an envoy which could be of a supernatural character (angelic or satanic). Popular Sufi sayings, such as “The one who does not engage in supererogatory worship, has no visions” furthermore stress the importance of training the seeker (by the *murīd*) to prepare the heart for their reception. Ismail Hakki has six works entitled “Vāridāt”. A number of his visionary accounts are also featured in four additional *majmū‘a*s. Furthermore, Bursevi's biographer Ali Namlı classifies twelve other works of Bursevi under the category ‘vāridāt ve şerhleri’, i.e., diaries and commentaries. (See Namlı, *İsmāil Hakkı*, 217-218.) Nuran Döner identifies a total of 22 works by Ismail Hakki that contain a record of his *vāridāt*, spanning over 20 years (1114-1136 AH). See Nuran Döner, “İsmail Hakkı Bursevi’nin *Kitāb-i Kebīr*’i ve Bursevī’de Vāridāt Kültürü,” in *Tasavvuf: İlmī ve Akademik Araştırma Dergisi*, vol. 6 [2005], number 15: 311-334.

in meticulous detail, differentiating between auditory, sensory, or tactile modes of receiving insight.

The second "visit" that Hakki narrates in this retrospective sequence in the *Silsilenāme*, is one that connects him to Ibn 'Arabi, who discusses the illegality of smoking tobacco and playing flutes:

> While I was in Damascus, the Great Master [Ibn 'Arabi] appeared to me several times: "The folk call it "leaves" and it is ritually polluting (*habīs*) and forbidden (*harām*) for us," he said. I also heard from my master that, "Smoking tobacco is self-indulgent (*nefsāni*) and diabolical (*şeytāni*)." He [also] affirmed the illegality (*hurmetini*) of all musical flutes (*mezāmīr*) without any difference between some flutes and others.[299]

This vision provides a glimpse into one of the most hotly-contested issues in the Ottoman Empire during Hakki's lifetime – that of smoking tobacco. Despite the legalization of smoking in 1650 in the Empire and the prominent Ottoman Sufi and Hakki's contemporary, 'Abdulgani el-Nablusi's stamp of approval of it, a number of intellectuals and religious leaders disapproved of its use.[300] The inclusion of Hakki's account of his vision provides an insight into what may have been an issue of importance to the narrator and highlights his active involvement in the social and cultural debates of his time.

This short retrospective vision sequence concludes with an account of a visit that the author experienced while residing in Damascus by the Prophet Muhammad and can

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[299] *Silsilenāme*, fol. 84a.

[300] For a presentation of the different arguments in favor of and against smoking tobacco during the 17th and 18th centuries, see James Grehan, "Smoking and "Early Modern" Sociability: The Great Tobacco Debate in the Ottoman Middle East (Seventeenth to Eighteenth Centuries)", in *The American Historical Review* (2006) 111 (5): 1352-1377.

thus be considered the culmination of the vision sequence, linking Hakki to the key source of Islamic religious authority:

> And during my residency in Damascus, from among the exalted orders (*matālib-i ʿaliye*), an exalted order came to be, which was a degree of speech (*sohbet*), meaning that, one night, awake and his excellency the Prophet (*cenāb-ı resālat*), peace and blessings be upon him appeared before my eyes: "Whoever affirms my name, affirms His name," he said, and invested in this wretch a degree of hearing and seeing (*bu fakīri derece-yi semāʿ ve revāyete yatırdılar*). And the interpretation of these words (*bu kelāmin şerhi*) is in another locus (*mahall*), that is, it came in sleep, meaning it did not occur while being awake.[301]

The narrator is careful to distinguish between knowledge received while awake and while asleep. His statement that the "interpretation" of the Prophet's words came in a dream speaks to the multiple channels through which he believes one can acquire divine knowledge: in a dream or while awake, in a "visit" (*vārid*) by deceased saints and prophets.

Although Hakki's account of these visions seems to violate the major narrative's linearity, the content of the visions delineates a progression in his contact with established sources of Islamic authority. In the first "visit" he receives, his high spiritual rank is recognized by the two most important Ottoman Celveti Sufis – Hüdayi and Üftade. The following vision Hakki has of Ibn ʿArabi establishes a bond between him and one of the most influential Sufis of all time over the controversial topic of smoking tobacco. Finally, his vision of the Prophet Muhammad transcends the domain of Sufism to connect him to the single most important source of Muslim belief and practice after the Qur'an.

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[301] *Silsilenāme*, fol. 85b.

VI. The signs of the times: Sufis under attack and the decline discourse

The content of the above-mentioned dream also provides a segue for the narrator to delve into the topic of Sufis' spiritual legitimacy, which he discusses in the context of a disagreement with other members of the religious establishment, referred to by the generic term *ehl-i rusūm*, the folk of tradition. The reader is finally given the reason for the inclusion of the above-mentioned vision in the narrative – that is, other scholars' doubt over Sufis' intangible experiences:

> The majority of traditionalist scholars (*ehl-i rusūm*) deny such extraordinary meanings (*ma'ānī-yi garībe*), which is why they were summarized [above]. However, due to [these scholars'] remaining in total denial, it is not appropriate for you to have a closed mouth and a broken pen. For, the lords of receptivity [i.e., the Sufis] are guided in affirming these types of images.[303]

The author's intent in sharing his aforementioned visions with the reader is constructed in the following way: by providing the above account, he counters other religious scholars' skepticism towards the invisible, here indicated by the reference to "meanings" or "mental images" (*ma'ānī*). In Akbarian metaphysics, the term stands for meanings without outward form, which can, however, be embodied and assume forms.[304] Hakki's narrative of the "visits" he received from the aforementioned saints also affirms the existence and validity of Sufis' supersensory experiences. He further asserts that Sufi masters, as the "lords of receptivity," (referring to their ability to receive divine emanation), receive guidance from God in defending these experiences. One of the Sufi's

[303] *Silsilenāme*, fol. 85b.

[304] See Chittick, *Sufi path*, 115, 354.

important social roles, therefore, is to serve as an advocate for other Sufis, when the latter are under attack, a phenomenon which Hakki illustrates in the next several paragraphs:

> This wretch found himself once in the assembly of a judge (*kādi'nin meclīsinde*) and prefaced his speech with some hymns (*ilāhiyat*) by Hüdayi. The kādi dismissed them, saying "What is the point of these words? (Bu sözlerden ne hâsil diye inkâr eyledi.)"[305]

The narrator's reaction to this event is one of furious disbelief:

> What sort of obstinate folk are there who criticize those to whom truthfulness and perfection have manifested, and are oblivious to the fact that the later have been seized by God? God is protective of His saints in the way the lioness is protective of her cubs. He may be postponing [judgment], but He isn't neglectful. They analogized [that because they weren't punished then, they would never be punished] and to this day, not one of them has found felicity, nor will they ever find salvation.[306]

Hakki interprets the judge's dismissal of the relevance of Hüdayi's hymns as an attack on Sufis in general. In the narrator's juxtaposition of Sufis and their critics, the former are presented as the beneficiaries of divine protection, the latter, as a group whose profound ignorance of divine will has doomed it to eternal lack of salvation.

Hakki further characterizes the conflict between Sufis and their critics as reflecting the fundamental difference in the methods that each group employs to acquire knowledge: the former derive divine knowledge through mystical experiences, which are denied by the latter:

> For example, they wave the sword (*bārid darb ederler*), meaning that, in order not to vituperate the saints, they raised the barrier of pretext. Those among the folk of denial connected to them thus need to be warned: The divine secrets' self-concealment is among the obligatory commandments (*esrār-ı ilahiyenin hod-*

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[305] Ibid.

[306] *Silsilenāme*, fol. 85b.

> *ketmi umūr-i vācibedendir*), for their disclosure causes a great discord (*fitne-yi ʻazīme*).[307]

The narrative depicts a growing separation between members of the lower echelons of Ottoman administration – such as the judge in question – and the intellectual legacy of monumental figures such as Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi. The motif about Sufis' increasingly worsening position in the social and political ladder runs across a number of Hakki's works and echoes the larger topos of decline that we can find in the writings of the historian and bureaucrat Mustafa ʻAli (1541-1600), who lived a generation earlier.[308] Hakki draws a parallel between his experiences and those of the early Muslim community by interweaving Qur'anic and Hadith quotations in his discussion of the declining influence of Sufis:

> And the reins of command were surrendered to ignorant fools and the folk of denial. Thus, the secret of the verse, "[They] kill the messengers without right and kill those people who enjoin justice" (Q 3:21) manifested in the image (*ṣūretinde*) of those who have no kinship by marriage (*müsāheret*) with the saints of nobility. A relationship of love and affection is needed, as it has been revealed (*vārid olmuştur ki*) that, "[a person will be in the company of] the one whom he loves".[309]

Hakki's emphasis on the need for a better relationship between Sufis and other religious scholars continues in the next paragraphs, in which he equates affirming Sufis – as loci of divine manifestation – to affirming God's unity.

> Perhaps some kindness can also be manifested (*belki nice fazıl ve ihsān dahi mazhar olurlar*) because affirming the universal loci of manifestation (*maẓāhir külliyeyi*) of that sort is an affirmation of the Real and [their] renouncement is

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[307] *Silsilenāme*, fol. 85a.

[308] For a comprehensive treatment of Mustafa ʻAli, see Fleischer, Cornell. *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*. See also, Bernard Lewis, "Ottoman observers of Ottoman decline," 71-87.

[309] *Silsilenāme*, fol. 85a. The reference is to *Sahih Bukhari*, Book 1, Hadith 368.

> also a renouncement of the Real. The Real is an affirmation of Himself. He cannot be angered unless affirming Him is mixed with denial and His oneness (*tawhīd*) is paired with idolatry (*shirk*). God protects [his] worshippers.[310]

This statement is significant as it establishes Sufism and respect for Sufis – as the universal loci of manifestation – at the very core of proper Islamic belief as conceived by the narrator. If one is to affirm God's unicity, one is to admit the status of Sufis as the loci in which divine knowledge manifests, Hakki argues. Conversely, one might argue, disrespect towards the Sufis would constitute a violation against God, a subtle warning the author extends to those who attack the saints.

At this point, the narrative turns to discuss Hakki's marriage. The name of his wife is not mentioned, leaving one to wonder if the author is referring to his first marriage to Afīfe, or his second marriage to Hanīfe, Osman Fazlı's most beloved daughter, or his third and last marriage to Āişe, about whom we know little.[311] Hakki discusses the event by drawing parallels to the ties of marriage that linked the early Muslim community to the family of Muhammad, another instance in which the self-narrative asserts his authority by hinting at a shared experiences between Hakki and an Islamic prophet.

> On the advice of the master – may God sanctify his soul – after moving, this wretch became a groom (*dāmādları olup*). After a spiritual (*ma'nevi*) connection, a tie of marriage was also established. The honor of the world [Muhammad] commanded that, "My lord, forgive everyone with whom I have established kinship through marriage, and everyone who has established kinship through marriage with me," meaning that his community is ennobled with the kinship

[310] *Silsilenāme*, fol. 86b.

[311] *İsmail Hakkı*, 115-116. Information about Hakki's wives is sparse. He only mentions the name Afīfe once in an account of a vârid he received, leading Namli to suspect that this is the name of Hakki's first spouse.

> through marriage with the family of the Messenger, because he is one of the causes for forgiveness. Herein, Abu Bakr and ‘Umar and ‘Uthman and ‘Ali b. Tālib reveal the special status and nobility of perfection of Muhammad because ‘A’isha and Hafsa established a pact with the Messenger. And likewise, Rukayya [bt. Muhammad] and Umm Kulthūm [bt. Muhammad] were married to ‘Uthman, and Fātima – to ‘Ali, may God be pleased with them. And this aforementioned secret will also unfold in the future.[1]

Wrapping up his autobiographical note in the *Silsilenāme*, Hakki notes his birth date and his age at the time of writing. He also hints at knowing his death date but being unable to disclose it:

> This wretch’s birth took place on a Monday in the beginning of Zi’l-ḳa‘de in 1063 (late September 1653 AD). It is now 1137 (1724 AD) and he has reached the age of 75 years. The time of his death has also been predestined (*müte‘ayin oldu kiyās olunur*) however [keeping it under] the cloak is obligatory (*setri vācib*) and concealing it is necessary.[312]

The author reminds his readers that the goal of the present treatise is “not a praise of the order (*tariqa*)”, but rather elucidating the “manifestation of the saints’ breath and the connection to their spiritual legacy (*silsila*)”.[313] Hakki concludes his autobiographical note by delineating his place in the Celveti order as its 32nd master.[314]

VII. Conclusion

Existing scholarship on Ismail Hakki’s autobiographical notes has treated them as

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[312] *Silsilenāme*, fol. 86a.

[313] Ibid.

[314] Ibid., fol. 86b.

“I heard my master saying, “Not counting ‘Ali [b. Tālib], I am the 31st”. Considering this wretch’s arrival, and the companions of the cave being the 8th (*eshāb-ı kehf sekizinci olduğu gibi),* [I] became the 32nd in this *silsila* of the Celveti order, so know this and what was mentioned before it.”

historical documents, the value of which is limited to a reconstruction of his life as a historical persona. A comparative literary analysis of his autobiographical narratives in two separate texts — the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* and the *Silsilenāme-yi Celvetiye* – yields important observations about Hakki's understanding of his role in the Celveti order. While in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz,* Ismail Hakki derives spiritual legitimacy through his affiliation with the head of the Celveti order, his master, Osman Fazlı, in the *Silsilenāme*, his self-portrait is of a prolific author and an established Sufi master whose importance is signaled on numerous occasions by established Sufi luminaries such as the founding figures of the Celveti order, Ibn 'Arabi, and even the Prophet Muhammad himself. A comparison of Hakki's self-narrative in the two works indicates the polyvalent character of the author's self-representation as well as the various levels of religious authority that he believed a Sufi like himself occupied in his order and society.

As I demonstrated in the preceding chapter, in his self-portrait in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz,* Hakki derives religious authority through his affiliation with the prominent Celveti Sufi master Osman Fazlı and dreams of prophets and famous Sufis. In the *Silsilenāme* – a genealogical work of the Celveti order which he completed nearly thirty years later – Hakki portrays himself as a productive scholar and a Sufi master, whose spiritual legitimacy is affirmed through his encounters – in dreams and visions – with key Celveti masters. The image of Sufi authority that emerges out of these sources is one in which the institution of the master is augmented and expanded through the institution of the order.

In the *Silsilenāme*, Hakki also provides his readers with a glimpse of his growing proximity to the circles of Ottoman power in the latter part of his life. In the following

chapter, I will explore the discursive dimension of this relationship through a focus on how Hakki's self-representation in several works dedicated to Ottoman officials further expands his claims to religious authority as the axis mundi (*quṭb*).

CHAPTER 5. THE SUFI AS THE AXIS OF THE WORLD:

THE CELESTIAL POLE IN HAKKI'S ADVICE WORKS

> "Come now, if you are wise, do not rebel against the sultan. If you do, you are rebelling against the Axiss. And rebelling against the Axiss is like rebelling against God. God is almighty and punishing, and none of those who have attacked the Axiss and the men of God with malice have recovered."[315]

The preceding chapters demonstrated how, in his autobiographical notes in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz* and the *Silsilenāme-yi Celvetiye,* Ismail Hakki employs the institutions of the Sufi master and order to assert his superior religious authority over other members of the Ottoman religious elite. To be precise, I showed how Hakki's claim to legitimacy in the *Tamāmu'l-feyz*, as expressed through his dream accounts, metaphysical discussions, and representation of particular events in Hakki's life draws on his close relationship to his master Osman Fazlı and a notion of divine justice that rewards Sufis and penalizes their enemies. By comparison, Hakki's primary claim to religious authority in the *Silsilenāme* is based on his affiliation with the Celveti Sufi order and the confirmation of his preeminent position in the order by major Sufi saints, both living and deceased.

As I will demonstrate in this chapter, the authority of Sufis, in Hakki's view, transcends the boundaries of the individual relationship to an important master, or even one's membership in an established order. A closer look at Hakki's gift treatises (*tuhfe*) addressed to Ottoman officials reveals that he envisioned a much broader social

[315] Ismail Hakki Bursevi, *Kitabü'n-Netice*, Edited by Ali Namli and İmdat Yavaş (Istanbul, İnsan Yayınları, 1997), vol. I, 429.

significance for Sufis through their role as the *axes mundi*, or Celestial Axes (*quṭb*, pl. *aqṭāb*), upon which the world rests.

While existing studies on Hakki's dedicatory works to officials have focused on the ways in which his metaphysical ideas and representations of the Ottoman state provide legitimacy to the latter, I argue that the parallels that Hakki draws between Sufis and Ottoman officials reflect the interests of his own self-representation. Through subtle, yet consistent appeals to his superior spiritual authority as an Axis, Hakki asserts his position as the preeminent Sufi of his time and a force with which the Ottoman ruling elite should reckon.

I. Hakki's relationship to Ottoman officialdom

Ismail Hakki's rhetoric to officials needs to be evaluated in the context of his individual relationship to Ottoman officials, as well as the historical connection Celveti Sufis had with the Ottoman circles of power. The order's very founder, Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi, was the dream interpreter and close advisor of Sultan Ahmed I. The relationship between Hakki's own master, Osman Fazlı, and Ottoman officials appears to have been more complex. In the *Tamāmu'l-feyz*, Hakki mentions that Fazlı advised Sultan Mehmed IV. However, Fazlı's favored position with the Sultan seems to not have had a lasting impact, as in 1689 he was exiled to Famagusta, Cyprus, for his criticism of the Ottoman military campaign to Vienna and refusal to accompany the Grand Vizier Tekirdağli Bekrī

Mustafa on his military expedition to Belgrade.[316]

Another Celveti Sufi, Selāmi ʻAli (d. 1692) also had a complex relationship to Ottoman officialdom. He was deposed from his position at the Celveti Grand Lodge (*asitāne*) in Istanbul by Sultan Mehmed IV over a disagreement with the influential preacher Vani Mehmed (d. 1685), but later reinstated to his position through an imperial order (*hatt-ı hümayün*).[317]

Hakki was well connected to the Ottoman ruling elite himself. As I elaborated in Chapter 3, while serving as Fazlı's *halīfe* in the Balkans, he was embroiled in a seven-year trial for physically punishing a student who dared to question his authority. Indicted by members of the local religious elite who sought his expulsion from the town, Hakki appealed to a number of high Ottoman officials for help, including the Mufti of Istanbul and the Grand Vizier.[318] As the Celveti master following the death of Osman Fazlı, on at least two occasions (1695 and 1696), Hakki took part in Ottoman military campaigns to boost the morale of the troops on the invitation of Sultan Mustafa II.[319] Hakki's popularity among the ruling elite was not limited to the Sultan, however – he was a close friend of two Ottoman Grand Viziers – Çorlulu ʻAli (to whom he dedicated *Tuhfe-i ʻAliye*), and Nevşehirli Damad Ibrahim Paşa (d. 1730), who provided him with a residence in Üsküdar. Other officials Hakki was familiar with and wrote for include the

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[316] Sakib Yıldız, "Atpazari Osman Fazli," in *İA*, vol. 4 (1991), 83-85.

[317] Ihsan Kara, "Selāmi ʻAli Efendi," in *İA*, vol. 36 (2009), 348-49.

[318] See Chapter 3.

[319] See Chapter 4.

Chief Bodyguard (*serhaseki*) of the Sultan Tübazāde Mehmed (for whom he wrote *Tuhfe-i Hasekiye*), the Palace Eunuch Seyyid Ahmed Vesīm Aga (for whom he wrote *Tuhfe-i Vesīmiye*) and the Governor of Damascus Recep Pasha (for whom he wrote *Tuhfe-i Recebiye*).[320]

Hakki's relationship to the Ottoman state was complex: while he was close to a number of high-ranking Ottoman officials, he does not appear to have held any official appointments in the court or the provinces. The informal nature of his relationship to Ottoman power manifested in the dozen or so works he dedicated to officials, to whom he was keenly interested in offering counsel. His writings indicate that he viewed himself as a conduit of divinely inspired knowledge that connected the material and immaterial realms. His self-perception as a bridge between the divine and worldly, aided by his close proximity to Ottoman power holders, informed the content and style of his works. Hakki's vision of the world around him involved a divinely-ordained Ottoman state: a microcosm of the universe whose invisible axis is the Sufi, himself.

II. The Sufi as the Axis

The significance of the concept of the Celestial Axis to Ismail Hakki's self-representation and notions of Sufi authority is evident in his multiple claims to have reached the status of Axishood (*quṭbiyyet*). In April 1718 CE (Jumada I, 1130 AH), while residing in Damascus, Hakki reports hearing a voice informing him, "You protect the

[320] For a list of Hakki's *tuhfe* works and their addressees, see Chapter 2.

realm of bodies (*Alem-i ecsām seninle korunur*)."[321] The statement indicates Hakki's status at that point as the First Imam to the right side of the Axis (*imām-ı eyser, rukn-i yemānī*), who oversees the material world and will succeed the Axis. In December of the same year (1718), Hakki receives another divine message, instructing him to remain in Damascus for 115 more days.[322] In the poem he composed upon the completion of these 115 days, he indicates his elevation to the status of the Axis in somewhat cryptic terms:

> When I became a king of Anatolia (Rūm), I was made a sultan
> The sixth clime is in me, see how famous I've become!
> In the sixth clime are included other climes
> Manifest in Anatolia (Rūm), I hid in the struggle for fame
> In Damascus, the land of the Arabs became part of my land
> And I became equal to all the substitutes (*abdāl*)
> Because 100 [days] and 15 more have passed
> I've become the moon of the heavens
> All know the folk of the throne and its footstool, what is my rank?
> According to which face of the earth (*ferş-i basīt*) I became Süleyman
> I took tribute from the east and the west
> My wealth is enough, I have become a full treasure-chest.[323]

Hakki speaks of his status as the Axis in another poem:

> I am the loftiest imam (*imam-i a'zam*), people endow me with power
> Every preacher says a prayer for me
> In me is the secret of Muhammad, God bless him
> The sinners ask me for forgiveness
> The man near the sultan is the sultan to this world
> Whatever my lesson may be, the people of the world seek refuge in me
> It is to be the heir to the prophet, the glory of your community
> With every breath the Breath of Holiness I receive divine inspiration (*vahy-i Hudā*)
> I am a poor wretch, at the gate of God, no one is below me,

[321] Namlı, *İsmail Hakkı*, 100.

[322] Ismail Hakki Bursevi, *Dürerü'l-'irfāniye*. Istanbul University Rare Book Library, Manuscript 4019, fol. 55a.

[323] *İsmail Hakkı*, 101.

All good is the Real (Ḥaqq), and they call me Ḥaqqi.[324]

After returning from Damascus to Üskudar, Hakki also reports being told by a mysterious voice that, "All of creation – big and small – comes from you, yet nobody knows that."[325] These statements strongly suggest Hakki's self-portrayal as a superior, albeit unrecognized, source of religious authority.

In Sufi metaphysics, the Celestial Axis stands for the Perfect Human Being, (*al-insān al- kāmil*), who is believed to be the manifestation of the totality of God's names and the one entrusted by God with safeguarding the world.[326] In his glossary of Sufi terms, ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Kāshāni (1256-1353) defines the Axis as "the place of God's ever present appearance in the world".[327] Hujwīrī (ca. 990-1072) describes the Axis as the pivot of the universe, and head of the saintly hierarchy (consisting of more than 350 other saints).[328]

The most comprehensive treatment of the Cosmic Axis is provided by Ibn ʿArabi (1165-1240) who distinguishes between two types of "Axes": 1) Sufis around whom the realities of the universe revolve, and 2) the Absolute Axis, around whom the entire

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[324] Ibid.

[325] Ibid., 102.

[326] See R. Arnaldez, "al-Insān al-Kāmil," in *EI*^{2}.

[327] William Chittick, *Self-disclosure of God. Principles of Ibn ʻArabi's Cosmology* (SUNY Series in Islam State University of New York Press, 1997).

[328] ʻAli ibn ʻUthman al-Hujwiri. *The Kashf al-maḥjūb: the oldest Persian treatise on Sufism.* Translated from the text of the Lahore edition, compared with mss. in the Indian Office and British Museum. By Reynold A. Nicholson (London: Luzac, 1936), 147, 214.

cosmos turns. [329] According to Ibn ‘Arabi, the many Axes inherit the knowledge and spiritual states of Muhammad (and other prophets). They are also closely tied to Qur’anic form and content: each Axis is assigned a Qur’anic verse or an entire sura which reveals his spiritual state and knowledge; his waystations furthermore are in accord with the number of verses in that sura.[330]

> We name them “Axes” because of their fixity and because this station – I mean the station of servanthood – revolves around them. I do not mean by their Axishood that they have a group who are under their command, of whom they would be the chiefs and for whom they would be Axiss. They are more majestic and higher than that.[331]

Like Ibn ‘Arabi, Hakki distinguishes between two types of axes – a single Supreme Axis, which he refers to as the Axis of Being (*kutb-i vücūd*), and multiple Axes of Guidance (*kutb-i irşād*), referring to Sufis that have reached the highest level of knowledge through observation (referred to as “the eye of certainty”, *‘ayne’l-yakin*).[332] Echoing Ibn ‘Arabi, Hakki defines the Axis of Being as the vicegerent of God (*khalifatullah*) and the amalgam of all divine names (*cemī‘-i esmānın mecmūası*).[333] The Axis’s role as an intermediary between God and the world is central: it is through the eyes of the Axis that God looks over His creation.[334] In Hakki’s spiritual hierarchy, the Axiss – be they the single Axis of Being or the multiple Axiss of Guidance – occupy a middle position between prophets and the majority of worshippers:

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[329] Chittick, *Sufi path*, 371.

[330] Chittick, *Self-disclosure*, 33.

[331] Ibid., 142.

[332] *Kitābü’n-netice* I, 299. Also see *Kitābü’n-netice*, II, 21.

[333] Ibid., I, 299.

[334] Ibid., II, 87.

> Every axis is the station (*maqām*) of a prophet and is the heir of a prophet.[335]
>
> The other heirs of the righteous community (*umma*) shine in the niche of his sainthood and emanate from his knowledge.[336]

The Axiss take part in Hakki's well-defined spiritual hierarchy. Below the Axis of Axiss (another term Hakki uses for the Axis of Being), he situates two imams, four pegs (*awtād*), and seven substitutes (*abdāl*) who follow the guidance of the Supreme Axis. An additional category of spiritual masters, the solitaries (*afrād*), exist independently of the Axis and pledge allegiance directly to God.[337] This spiritual hierarchy is visually represented in a collected volume of Hakki's writings, *Mecmua-i Hakki*, in a diagram at the center of which is the Supreme Axis (*quṭbu'l-aqtāb*). To his sides can be seen the two imams, the first of whom (to the Axis's right) is the guardian of the corporeal realm (*mulk*), and the second of whom (to the Axis's left) is the shepherd of the spiritual realm (*malakūt*). The four pegs (*awtād*) preserve the four directions of the world, and among them are also scattered the seven substitutes (*abdāl*) who govern the seven climes.

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[335] Ibid., I, 327.

[336] Ibid., I, 376.

[337] Ibid., II, 95.



Figure 9. The hierarchy of saints headed by the Supreme Pole (*quṭbu'l-aqṭāb*). *Mecmua-i Hakki*, Istanbul University Rare Book Manuscript 482, fol. 41b. (Original)



Figure 10. The hierarchy of saints headed by the Supreme Axis (*quṭbu'l-aqṭāb*). *Mecmua-i Hakki*, Istanbul University Rare Book Manuscript 482, fol. 41b. (English rendering)

As I will demonstrate below, it is in this function of the Cosmic Axis, as the transformative meeting point of material and immaterial realities that Hakki conceives of the Sufi shaykh, in general, and of his role as a renewer of the divinely established order, in particular.

III. Cooperation or Competition: Explaining the Sultan-Saint Dynamics

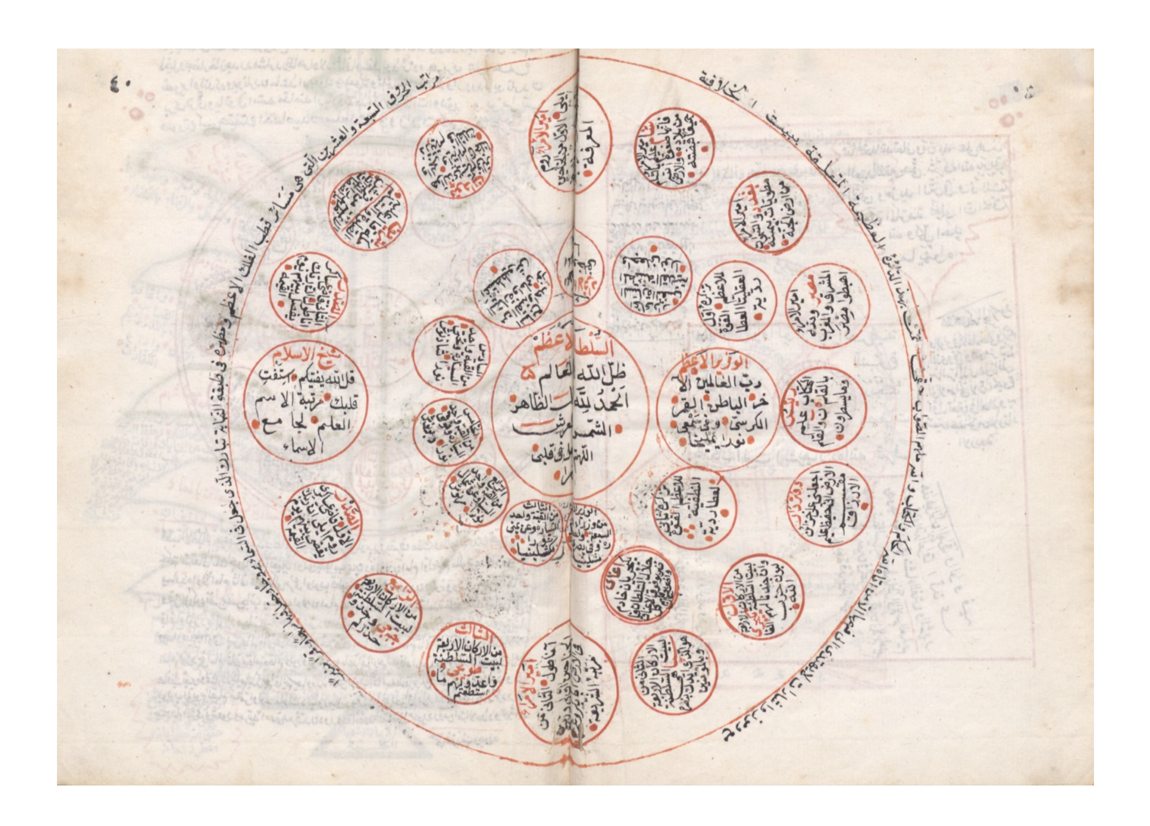


Figure 11. The Ottoman ruling hierarchy. *Mecmua-i Hakki*, Istanbul University Rare Book Manuscript 482, fol. 40a-40b. (Original)

The preceding page of the same manuscript contains a similar visual representation of the Ottoman political hierarchy, at the center of which is depicted the Sultan. He is surrounded by various high-ranking Ottoman officials: the Grand Vizier to his right, the Mufti of Istanbul (Şeyhülislām) to his left, provincial governors, the Army Judges (Kazasker) of Rumelia and Anatolia, and the various corps in the Ottoman army, among others.



Figure 12. The Ottoman ruling hierarchy. *Mecmua-i Hakki*, Istanbul University Rare Book Manuscript 482, fol. 40a-40b. (English rendering)

The positioning of these two diagrams on consecutive folios is not accidental; it points to a larger theme running throughout Hakki's writings, in which he draws a parallel between the saintly and ruling hierarchies, in general, and the Axis and the Sultan, in particular. In *Kitābü'n-netice*, a Turkish work seeking to elucidate the outcomes of spiritual states (*beyān-i netāic el-ehvāl*), the Axis is defined through his relationship to the sultan: the sultan is the shadow of divine reality, the Supreme Axis (*quṭbu'l-aqṭāb*) – the locus of manifestation of that reality.[339] The roles of the two are complementary:

> The Axis is the highest manifestation of the name The Hidden (*bāṭin*), while the sultan is the highest manifestation of the name The Visible (*ẓāhir*)… The Axis is the lord of the folk of invisibility, the sultan – of the folk of visibility.[340]

Hakki furthermore likens the Axis, as the "pivot of the world", to the institution of the sultanate in requiring an outward manifestation (*ẓuhūr iktiẓa eder*).[341] Merve Tabur has questioned the historicity of the statement, pointing to the fact that, at the time of Hakki's writing, the sultan had retreated from public life, to the benefit of the viziers and other courtiers. It is thus more likely that Hakki's statement about the sultan's visibility is prescriptive, rather than descriptive, or could be seen as a subtle critique of the increasing influence of the sultan's courtiers.[342]

Hakki's parallels between the saintly and the ruling hierarchies do not stop here. Comparing the Sultan as the ruler over the visible world, and the Axis, as the one over

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[339] *Kitābü'n-netice*, I, 12.

[340] Ibid, II, 36.

[341] Ibid., I, 395; II, 241.

[342] Tabur, "Politics of Balance," 100.

the invisible one, Hakki writes that just as there can be only one Sultan at a time, there can only be one Supreme Axis.[343]

> In every age, there is one Axis of Being. The world is like the body: as the body can't have more than one spirit, so can the world not have two leaders.[344]

The authority of the Sultan and the Axis is similarly indicated through attire and ceremonial: Both undergo a process of enthronement, and both are depicted as wearing a crown (*tāc-i izzet u vakar*) and a robe of honor (*hil'at*), which in the case of the Axis is made out of divine names (*esmā-ı ilāhiye*).[345] Hakki also employs similar names and terms for both the Sultan and the Axis: friend of God, just, judge, and uses the title caliph interchangeably for both.[346] Even then, he is careful to point out that the Axis, as the hidden (*bāṭin*) manifestation of the divine names, has an access to knowledge to which the Sultan does not.

1. The language of the *tuhfe*s: lending legitimacy to the state

The multiple parallels that Hakki draws between the Axis and the Sultan in his *tuhfe* works poses the important question of how these discussions connect and disconnect from the larger narrative the author is creating. In order to assess how these discussions of the relationship between the Sufi and the Ottoman ruling elite inform our

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[343] Ismail Hakki Bursevi, *Tuhfe-i Hasekiye*, Süleymaniye Kütuphanesi, Mihrişah Sultan 164, fol. 219b, *Kitābü'n-Netice*, I, 367.

[344] *Kitābü'n-Netice* II, 159.

[345] *Tuhfe-i 'Aliye*, 213-214; *Tuhfe-i Vesīmiye*, 135.

[346] *Kitābü'n-Netīce* I, 1-2; *Tuhfe-i Ataiye*, 92, *Tuhfe-i Vesīmiye*, 125, *Kitābü'n-Netice* II, 35, 329

understanding of Hakki's views on religious authority, I will refer back to the language of the *tuhfe*s.

All of the works that Hakki composed for Ottoman officials were written in Turkish, his audience's native language, and not in Arabic. In several of them, Hakki explains that his goal in doing so is to make his writings more understandable:

> It is necessary that the folk of the imamate follows the wisdom [in this book]. For this reason, I wrote this book in Turkish, the language of the Turkish regions, so that the minds can easily comprehend.[347]

Hakki was not unique in his preference for writing in Turkish. Tabur has demonstrated that Hakki's choice was very much in line with that of other public religious figures who sought to spread their message widely.

> Bursevi's *tuhfe*s were first of all educational tracts which aimed not only to inform the reader about the basic tenets of Celveti Sufism but also to offer a roadmap to live one's life within the acceptable limits of sunna and sharia as a responsible member of the community. Through these texts Bursevi partook in the consolidation of orthodoxy and orthopraxy and regarded it as his responsibility to provide religious education to more people as a response to what he conceived as decline in all aspects of society due to impiety.[348]

The target audience of the aforementioned dedicatory treatises included high-ranking Ottoman officials and members of the imperial court. These statesmen undoubtedly had good awareness of the overarching hierachical structure of which they were part, and were likely intimately familiar with the titles of the court. By depicting the saintly hierarchy and the Ottoman ruling hierarchy in parallel terms, Hakki could have

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[347] *Tuhfe-i 'Aliye*, 198.

[348] Tabur, "Politics of balance," 64.

aimed to portray his overreaching spiritual power through a reference to what they knew well – the key positions in the Ottoman political domain.

In *Tuhfe-i Hasekiye*, a treatise dedicated to the chamberlain of the palace, Tubazade Mehmed, Hakki describes the positions of several Ottoman officials as the loci of manifestation of particular divine names. Thus, God's name *The Knower* (*al-'alīm*), is manifested in the position of the Grand Mufti of the imperial capital; the name "The Magnificent (*al-jalīl*) is manifested in the position of the Army Judge of the Balkans (Rumeli), "The Beautiful" (*al-jamāl*) in the Army Judge of Anatolia (Rum), "The Most Perfect" (*al-kāmil*) in that of Mecca and Medina, and so forth.[349]

The Names of God also play a crucial role in *Tuhfe-i Recebiye*, a treatise Hakki dedicated to the Governor of Damascus, Recep Pasha. The work outlines a sacred geography, according to which, major cities in the territory of the Ottoman Empire represent the loci of manifestations of twelve individual divine names.[350]

Tuhfe-i 'Aliye outlines the stages of the vizierate in metaphysical terms: Hakki presents the sultan as the locus at the station of the divinity of the name "The Magnificent (*celāl*)" and the vizier – as the locus af the name "The Lord" (*rabb*) at the station of lordship. The power duo is also portrayed as the divine throne (the sultan) and the footstool (the vizier) at the stations of being (*merātib-i kevniyede*). Hakki emphasizes the complementarity of the two by referring to the sultan as the sun (*şams*) and the vizier as

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[349] Kazıcı, "Osmanli müesseseleri," 207-220.

[350] *Ilahi isimler (Tuhfe-i Recebiye),* 203-236.

the moon (*qamr*), which is the locus of the sun's light. Finally, at the stations of the soul, the sultan is the spirit (*rūḥ*), and the vizier – the heart (*qalb*).[351]

In all of the above examples, critical to Hakki's portrayal of the relationship between the saintly hierarchy is the concept of God's manifestation (*feyz*, Arabic: *fayḍ*) in various loci (*maẓhar*, pl. *maẓāhir*). The idea of the divine manifestation is not unique to Hakki: In Ibn al-'Arabi's metaphysics, the notion of God's manifestation through His Names allows for the continuous divine involvement in the world, and the possibility for individuals to perceive aspects of their Creator. In Hakki's hierarchy, the notion also serves an additional purpose: It provides legitimation for the Ottoman establishment by drawing a direct link between the temporal world of Ottoman statesmen, on one hand, and a divine realm, on the other. At the time when Hakki was writing, the Ottoman state had a largely secular bureacracy: beyond the Sultan, who claimed spiritual authority as the caliph of the Muslim world, the majority of the offices Hakki lists on the above diagram and outlines in his writings, such as the Kazaskers of Rumelia and Anatolia, local governors, and corps in the army, were not religious in nature. By presenting Ottoman political titles as the loci of manifestation of individual divine names, Hakki lends significant spiritual legitimacy to the Ottoman state. He implicitly suggests that the Ottoman polity was brought into existence not merely due to a temporal need for a government; but that it came about by a divine order.

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[351] *Tuhfe-i 'Aliye*, 222-223.

2. The Sufi shaykh as the bridge between God and Creation

However, closer look at Hakki's writings to officials reveals that they also served to legitimize an additional figure: the author himself, through his status as the Axis of Guidance, the sole link people have to the Celestial Axis and his wisdom. Throughout his writings, Hakki expounds how both the Ottoman state and the universe owe their continued existence to the Axiss. In his definitions of the Celestial Axis, for example, Hakki frequently refers to his dominion over both the material and immaterial realms:

> According to the men of God, the Perfect Human Being is the vicegerent of God, he has been given power over both the material and spiritual world (*mülk ve melekūtun taṣarrufu*). It is through him that God commands.[352]

While Tabur has emphasized that Hakki did not seek a political career, the statement above is telling about the high level of involvement he envisioned for Sufis in the social and political arena, as connections to the Supreme Axis.

In addition to these indirect references to the overarching power of the Supreme Axis, on occasion, Hakki explicitly states the sultan's inferiority to the former. In *Tuhfe-i Recebiye*, he asserts that everything on earth takes place only with the permission of the Axis, on whom the sultan's very power depends:

> The Supreme Axis and other men of God are the manifestations of the [divine] name the Hidden and they are concealed under a cloak (*aba*). The power (*taṣarruf*) of the sultan depends on their power.[353]

While he emphasizes the superior authority of the Supreme Axis, Hakki also underscores the crucial role that Sufi shaykhs play as a conduit to him: People can only benefit from

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[352] *Kitabü'n-Netice,* I, 227. Also see *Kitabü'n-Netice,* I, 89 and 308.

[353] *Tuhfe-i Recebiye*, 361, 379.

the Supreme Axis's guidance through the teaching of a knowledgeable shaykh, the Axis of Guidance.[354]

Not only are Sufis the vital connection to the Cosmic Axis, but they are also a bridge to the Prophet. Writing to the Head of the Palace School (*enderun ağası*), Ahmed Vesīmi, Hakki quotes a hadith from Abu Rāfi' (d. after 660), a companion of Muhammad, saying:

> The shaykh among his people (*qawm*) is like the prophet among the believers (*umma*).[355]

He couples the hadith with a reference to Rumi's Mesnevi:

> The Prophet said that the shaykh is a leader because he is for his people a prophet (*nebī*).[356]

Hakki interprets these references to the authority of shaykhs by saying that it is by virtue of the shaykh's knowledge and intellect that he is like a prophet among the believers:

> Obedience to him is required (*lāzim*) and following him is obligatory (*wājib*) because he is the leader.[357]

Elevating the status of the shaykh to that of the heirs to Muhammad, Hakki equates conversing (*sohbet*) with the shaykh to conversing with the Prophet.[358] He furthermore portrays obedience to the shaykhs as obedience to God, giving a significant amount of

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354 Ibid., 361, 380.

355 *Tuhfe-i Vesīmiye*, 136.

356 Ibid.

357 Ibid.

358 Ibid, 164.

weight to the position of Sufis.[359] By setting up the Sufi master as the authoritative link to the divine, Hakki claims indirectly that disobedience to someone like him is equal to disobedience to God himself.

3. The Axis as a pillar of the Ottoman state

The Sufi shaykh's role, as conceived by Hakki in his *tuhfe*s, also extends more specifically to being the foundation on which the Ottoman state stands. According to Hakki, it is imperative that every ruler keeps the company of a Sufi master, as the wisdom of the latter guarantees the success of the former:

> The pillars of power (*erkān-i saltanat*), in fact, rest on the breath of the saints, through which the affairs of the state (*etvār-i devlet*) are also organized (*tertip kılınmıştır*).[360]

In his portrayal of the Axis as a powerful force in the world, Hakki furthermore appeals to a narrative of origins that links Sufis to the nascent Ottoman state. By doing so, he argues for a return to what he considers to be at the very core of the Ottoman polity: its partnership with mystics.

> A house cannot stand if one of its pillars is missing […] The house of the state (*hāne-i devlet*) cannot stand without one of its pillars. The Janissaries came to be through a sign from Haci Bektash Veli, and Osman Gazi's sultanate also followed him.[361]

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[359] *Tuhfe-i ʻAliye*, 214.

[360] Ibid., 128.

[361] *Tuhfe-i Hasekiye*, fol. 256b.

> Every sultan needs a shaykh from among the folk of the [spiritual] state because the sultanate came into existence through its association (*muḳārenet*) with a shaykh.[362]

Hakki provides evidence in support of his argument for the primordial relationship between the Ottoman state and mystics by appealing to the figure of Haci Bektash Veli (d.1271), the eponymic founder of the Bektashi Sufi order, the patron order of the Janissary corps in the Ottoman army.[363]

4. The discourse of decline

While addressing Ottoman officials, Hakki depicts a moral and material disorder plaguing his time: places of worship are left to ruin while the religious elite is rigged with corruption. He attributes these developments to the severed relationship between rulers and Sufis. Hakki juxtaposes the current state of affairs to an idealized image of an imagined past:

> In the time of just rulers, the Axiss and other men traveled from the nearby lands to the sultan in whose shadow they sought shelter (*istiẓlāl*).[364]

He contrasts this idyllic past with his own present, issuing a critique of men in power and their chosen spiritual advisors:

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[362] Ibid., fol. 259b.

[363] For studies on the history of the Bektashi order, see J. K. Birge, The Bektashi Order of Derwishes (London and Hartford (Conn.),1937), Georg Jacob, Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Derwisch-Ordens der Bektaschis. Mit einem Anhang von Professor Snouck Hurgronje. (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1908); and Köprülü, M. Fuad, "Bektaşiligin Menşe'leri," in Türk Yurdu, Number 7, 1341(1925). For contemporary Bektashis, see Frances Trix, *Spiritual discourse: learning with an Islamic master* (Philadelphia, Penn.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993).

[364] *Tuhfe-i Recebiye*, 299.

> In this era, the sultan has no shaykh; No, he has instead a preceptor (*hoca*). However, just as the body cannot exist without a soul (*rūḥ*) so can the sultan not be without a shaykh.[365]

It is very likely that the above quotation is Hakki's veiled criticism of the increased influence that Kadizadeli preachers enjoyed in Ottoman religious life, in general, and the sultan's court in particular, in the late seventeenth century. Tabur observes that,

> Indeed, particularly during the reign of Murad IV, the Kadızadeli preacher Üstüvani had found his way into the palace not only as the mentor of the sultan but also as the court preacher, a position established just for him. In terms of influence in the palace circle, Üstüvani was followed by another Kadızadeli preacher, Vani Mehmed as the favorite of the grand vizier Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed who presided over the state between the years 1661 and 1676. Although Bursevi's master Osman Fazlı had also established relations with Mehmed IV and the Köprülü viziers during this period, the rising influence of actors such as the Kadızadelis and the palace staff (particularly the chief eunuch) in the political sphere seems to have resulted in a division of power. Thus it was not possible for a particular Sufi sheikh to establish a monopoly in associating with the authority figures due to the politics of balance pursued by the sultan and high-ranking statesmen who tried to consolidate power between different groups.[366]

More importantly, however, his discourse of contemporary decline and a past Golden Era for Ottoman Sufis is what allows Hakki to argue for the irreplaceability of the Sufi as the source of critical spiritual guidance for rulers. In *Tuhfe-i Recebiye*, he laments the lack of a relationship between Sufis and sultans, warning rulers that if they do not seek the guidance of one of the Axes of Guidance, they will forever be deprived from divine assistance.[367]

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[365] Ibid.

[366] "Politics of balance," 182-183.

[367] *Tuhfe-i Recebiye*, 299.

The above statements should be viewed not in isolation from, but in the context of Hakki's conceptualization of the Axis as the supreme source of religious authority for rulers and common men, and his own claims to the status Axis. Albeit indirectly, through these constructions of decline and the urgent need for a spiritual renewal headed by an Axis, Hakki carves out a space for his own persona, as the locus of an unparalleled religious authority in his time.

IV. Conclusion

Hakki's use of Sufi metaphysical notions in his writings for and about Ottoman officials has multiple rhetorical and ideological functions, which indirectly buttress his self-representation as the superior source of religious authority in his time, and appeals for those in power to heed his advice.

The idea that key Ottoman positions of power are the loci of divine manifestation provides a religious justification of and metaphysical significance to the Ottoman state, which Hakki portrays as divinely ordained. Through the concept of the Celestial Axis as the supreme albeit neglected source of spiritual authority, Hakki issues both a critique of the lack of respect for Sufis in the Ottoman court, and an appeal for this grave error to be rectified through the guidance of a knowledgeable shaykh of his rank. Hakki never explicitly points to himself as the preferred source of religious authority. Yet, when added together, his emphasis on the Ottoman state's historical relationship to Sufis, the present picture of spiritual decline, his claim to the status of the Axis, and the salvational

function of the Axiss of Guidance, point to his indirect self-promotion as the man who can overturn the moral degradation he argued his state had slipped into.

It is impossible to determine whether Hakki's depictions of decline reflected a historical reality rather than a literary trope. One the one hand, the Ottoman Empire was suffered significant material losses in the wars it waged during the earlier part of Hakki's lifetime. The rivalry for power between Sufis and the Kadizadeli preachers could have provided another reason for Hakki's complaint. On the other hand, the discourse of decline appears to have been a common theme across Ottoman works of advice, thus suggesting that Hakki's works were to an extent representative of the genre.[368]

What become apparent when Hakki's writings to Ottoman officials receive a closer scrutiny, however, is that the argument of decline, the metaphysical significance of the Axis as a bridge between the visible and invisible realms, and Hakki's claims to Axishood, all, indirectly, but persuasively, raise him to the status of the preeminent source of spiritual authority in the Empire and beyond it. The Sufi, in general, and Hakki, in particular, readers are told, is the *axis* without which the world could not go round.

[368] See, for example, Cornell Fleischer, *A bureaucrat and intellectual*, also Howard, "Genre and Myth".

CONCLUSION

In the present study, I have examined Hakki's modes of self-representation across a selection of his autobiographical notes and dedicatory treatises to Ottoman officials. I have demonstrated that a focus on the literary self-portraits of this prolific Ottoman Sufi could provide us with a glimpse into his constructions of religious authority. My analysis of the various levels of Sufi authority that Hakki claimed – as a disciple of a promiment Sufi master, as a member of an established Sufi order, and as the Cosmic Axis – aimed to serve as a glimpse into the broad social roles that he envisioned for Sufis, as advisors to their patrons and communities.

The role of Sufi metaphysics in Hakki's claims to religious authority cannot be overstated. At once an illustrative tool to compare the saintly and ruling hierarchies, and a rhetorical device to convince the readers in the state's divine origin, the notion of the *quṭb* as the *axis mundi*, is at the center of Hakki's discourse on power – both material and immaterial.

The concept of divine manifestation through God's names and their loci on earth provides an unseverable link between an idealized immaterial realm in which Hakki received guidance from deceased Sufis and prophets, and the spiritually declining material world in which he lived, and to which he wanted to provide guidance.

The notion of the breath, of God and of the Sufi master, functions as a transformative life force: once when it animates the body and readies it for its first birth, and once when it unlocks the door to a person's second birth as a Sufi.

A reader of Hakki's writings easily detects these key concepts throughout both narratives of his own life, and advice he dispensed to high-ranking Ottoman officials, with whom he communicated extensively. Hakki unfolds his metaphysics in accounts of life events, dreams and visions, and even in discussions of the organization of the Ottoman state. A comparative look at how Ottoman Sufis employed metaphysical notions to support and criticize particular imperial policies is an inviting project that is yet to be produced.

The inseparability of the material and immaterial realms that the reader would discover throughout Hakki's writings reflected his vision of reality, in which sacred and profane were hardly two discrete entities. It also mirrored his vision of his own role as the Axis, or *an* axis, the meeting point of the visible and invisible, and perhaps even of an old and new era, signified by the increasingly competitive market of religious and political leadership which he laments in his writings.

It is likely that one of the main forces behind Hakki's self-representation were precisely institutional anxieties about Celveti leadership that plagued his life time. Hakki's impetus to outline the Celveti *silsila* and doctrinal bases in a treatise, and his decision to exclude prominent Sufis indicates that his efforts at claiming his status as the preeminent source of religious authority might have reflected his contested legitimacy and a rivalry over the leadership of the Celveti order. A detailed analytical study of his *Silsilenāme*, in comparison to the writings of other Celveti authors, could yield valuable information about the discursive footprint of a split of a Sufi order.

Due to its politically and economically tumultuous character, the time during which Hakki lived was hardly the ideal environment historians associate with intellectual

vitality. A series of political crises plagued the Ottoman state. Sultans were deposed and enthroned by their inferiors. Economic stagnation and military defeat furthered weakened the Empire. With over a hundred written works in Sufism, Qur'anic hermeneutics, literature and grammar, jurisprudence, mirror for princes, to name only a few, Hakki hardly emblematizes the image of cultural decline he is trying to portray in his writings.

We can only speculate about the goals of Hakki's self-representation against a limited sample of information. A glimpse into Hakki's self-portraits does not tell us as much about him as an individual, discrete person, as it does about the various discourses in which his works participated. As the object of study, therefore, Hakki can also be seen as a juncture. His writings, frequently mixing Arabic, Ottoman Turkish, and Persian, symbolize the meeting point of three distinct, if related, currents in the religious and political intellectual culture of his time. As he weaves Akbarian metaphysics in with Persian poetry, Qur'anic hermeneutics, and the autobiographical, biohagiographical, and advice writing genres, Hakki also demonstrates that there is no neat division between form and content, and that genre boundaries in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century were fluid, and lend themselves well to the creative exercise of self-representation. In his autobiographical notes and writings for officials, Hakki shows us that portraying power requires a versatile toolbox – one in which allusion, symbolism, and references to the invisible may be the only ways to influence the visible.

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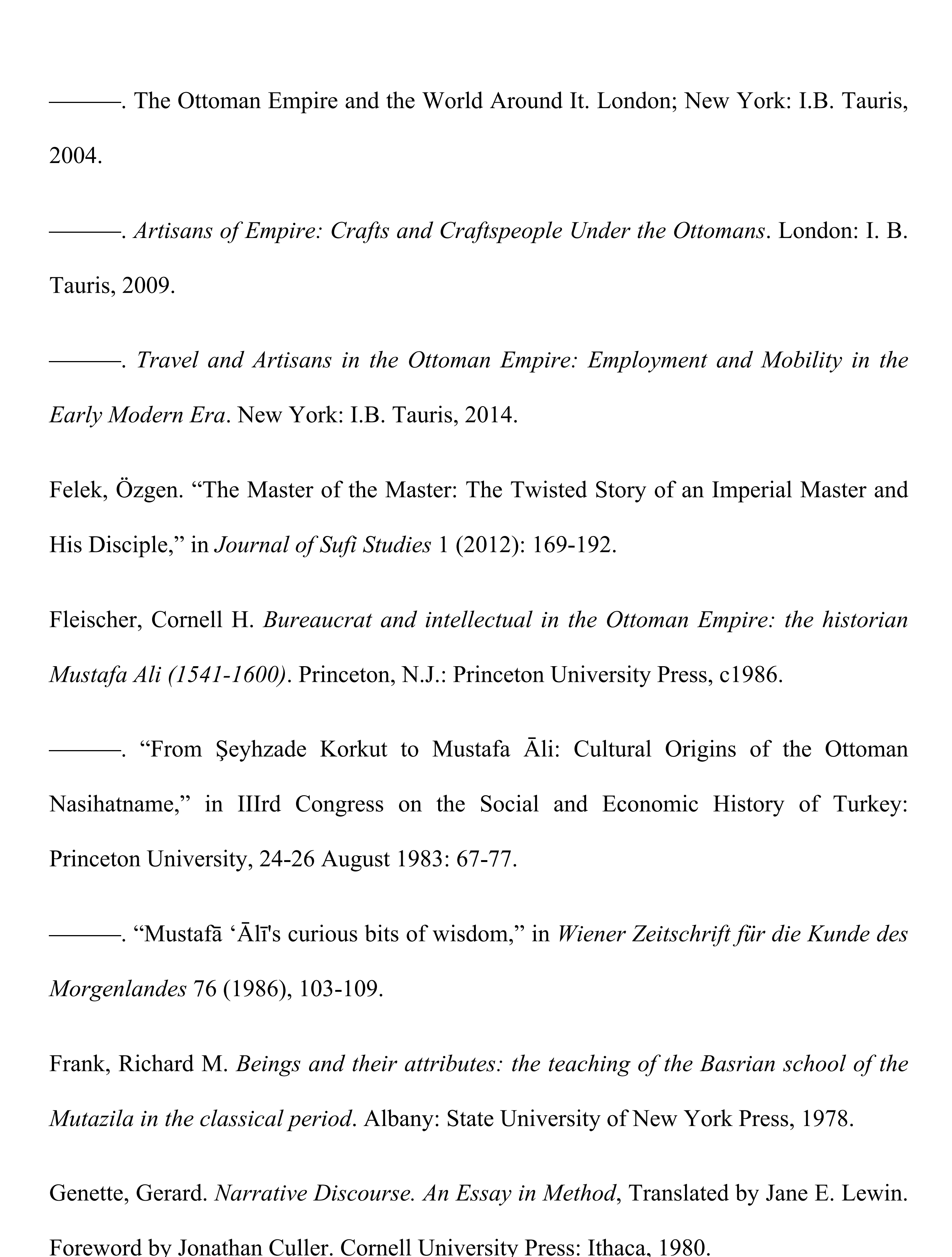
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